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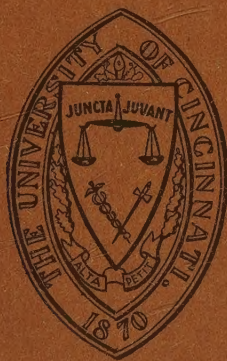
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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE AESOPIC FABLE

by

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A Comparative Study of the Aesopic Fable

in

Nicole Bozon

A Dissertation Submitted to the Board of University
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Conformity with the Requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy.

by

PHILIP WARNER HARRY



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PREFATORY NOTE.

FOR some years past the work of the Romance Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University has been centered upon the fables of Marie de France. Soon after my admission to the Seminary in the autumn of 1899, my attention was directed to the French fables contained in the *Contes Moralisés* of Nicole Bozon. The evident relationship existing between certain fables of Bozon and the corresponding fables of Marie de France, together with the peculiar character of the majority of Bozon's fables, have led me to undertake a comparative study of the Æsopic fable as found in his sermons.

Since the text was published in 1889, the stray fables contained therein have been the subject of but one study; namely, that of Herlet in his *Æsopische Fabel im Mittelalter*. Herlet points out in this monograph the close agreement between the versions of Bozon and those of Marie de France in a few instances only, but he has not discussed any of the other questions connected with Bozon's fables.

My aim in the present investigation is to ascertain, as far as possible, the various sources to which Bozon is indebted, and to determine his method of treating the material thus borrowed. Of special interest are the questions raised by his use of English phrases, as well as French rimes, in his prose text.

The materials for this monograph have been gathered mainly from the libraries of the Johns Hopkins University and the Peabody Institute of Baltimore. The Boston Public Library and the Library of Congress at Washington have also been drawn upon for material, as well as the data on fable literature that have been collected by the members of the Romance Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University. During the academic year 1901-1902, while I held the position of Instructor in Modern Languages at the University of Maine, I was able to continue the investigations of my subject through books on fable literature sent to me from various public libraries. To the officials of these libraries I desire herewith to extend my thanks for the courtesy they have shown to me.

INTRODUCTORY.

IN the year 1889, the *Société des Anciens Textes Français* published a book entitled *Les Contes Moralises de Nicole Bozon*, edited by Paul Meyer in collaboration with Miss P. Toulmin Smith¹.

These *contes* of Bozon, which were discovered by M. Meyer in the course of his researches in the libraries of England, have been, on account of their character, the subject of some discussion among students of fable literature during the past several years.

Nicole Bozon was a preacher, a *frère mineur*, who wrote both in prose and in verse. His prose works are by far the more important. These consist of a series of short sermons which are in reality little more than a collection of *exempla*; that is, of stories real or fictitious, followed by a moral application. At the time when Bozon wrote, the authors of sermons had the custom, without doubt in order to render their homilies more attractive, of interspersing them with anecdotes of various sorts, to which they gave the general name of parables. Instruction through such parables is a practice dating from remote antiquity; preachers were induced to adopt this method, not so much for the sake of illustrating their discourses, as making a lasting impression on the minds of their illiterate hearers. Bozon's prose works are full of such *exempla*, and many of them are extremely interesting from a number of points of view.

The special features of the work in question may be considered to belong to three general classes, distinguished as follows: (1) Facts of Natural History; (2) Tales; (3) Fables.

1. *Les Contes Moralises de Nicole Bozon* (Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1889), Paris, 1889.

The purpose of this dissertation is to discover, if possible, to what collection (or collections) of fables Bozon had access, as well as to discuss the general character of the fables contained in the work of our author.

There are several features that distinguish the fables found in Bozon from those occurring in works of a similar character, and that make them worthy of serious study. In the first place, some of his fables end with English verses or an English proverb². The ending of a fable with English verses was not at all uncommon among Bozon's contemporaries³, but those occurring in his fables are of especial interest as probably indicating an English source for the fables in question.

A second noteworthy feature in certain fables of our author is the occurrence in the body of the text of what appear to be the *débris* of French verses⁴. This characteristic is so evident in the case of one fable that the editors have printed nearly the whole of it in verse form⁵.

A third characteristic peculiar to Bozon is the large proportion of fables which occur in his work only. Whether these were actually invented by our author himself, or whether he derived them from sources which have not come down to us as far as known, is a question which can not be definitely settled.

a. ACCOUNT OF THE SOURCES OF THE FABLES.

In a collection of notes which follow the text of the *contes*, the editor has sought, wherever possible, to note the source on which Bozon drew for each fable. Here are his results: Of the thirty-nine fables⁶ which he has discussed, he is sure of having discovered the original source of only five fables (fables 5, 7, 16, 28 from Odo of Sherington; fable 32 from Marie de France);

2. Cf. *C. M. de Bozon*, paragraphs 14, 17, 34, 121, 128.

3. Cf. numerous examples in Thomas Wright's *Latin Stories*.

4. Cf. *C. M. de Bozon*, par. 28, 30, 32, 56, 120, 121, 129, 135.

5. Cf. *C. M. de Bozon*, par. 135.

6. Two fables are omitted in the table (p. XVII), but are mentioned on page XIX and in the notes.

for seven others (fables 47, 61, 75, 91, 94, 130, 142) he has indicated the *probable* source. In these seven cases M. Meyer holds it as necessary to suppose that Bozon thought best to modify the fables, yet he sees no reason for this supposition, since the details of the fable (or story) must have been for the author only of secondary importance. Neither do the modifications appear to come from an imperfect memory. Finally, for seven fables (fables 10, 14, 50, 53*b*, 56, 114, 135), the editor does not indicate parallel versions, and yet he does not believe it probable that Bozon invented them.

To explain this difficulty, M. Meyer suggests that in the cases mentioned, and in others still, Bozon might have made use of a collection of fables closely related to that of Marie de France. Marie translated into French verse a book of English fables at the end of the twelfth century. Bozon could have known it, in a rejuvenated form, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. One could consider, then as coming from the original English collection, the English verses which form the moral of certain fables⁷.

The editor, however, apparently not wholly convinced that this is the case, offers another hypothesis which he says is worthy of examination. In certain fables and apologues one may recognize *débris* of French verses⁸. Now, it is suggested that Bozon may have made use of a book of Anglo-Norman fables, today lost, which would have had in part the same source as Marie de France, and contained, in addition, certain fables of which the source is not known today. In this manner the English verses could be explained.

The distinguished editor, however, does not insist on this hypothesis. He points out that fragments of verse exist in Bozon's works also, though rarely, outside of the fables; that is, in the sermons proper⁹, and he

7. Cf. *C. M. de Bozon*, par. 14, 121, 128.

8. Cf. *C. M. de Bozon*, pp. 30, 55, 120, 121, 129.

9. Cf. *C. M. de Bozon*, par. 9, 115, 121, 133.

suggests that Bozon, who was a poet as well as a prose writer, may have wished to embellish his prose works with rimes.

The only definite result drawn from this discussion is that Bozon knew a collection of fables, written very probably in England, either in English or in French, which had in part the same source as the collection of Marie de France.

Gaston Paris, in speaking of Bozon¹⁰, states that the fables and *contes* in his sermons appear to be from an English source, while Crane in his introduction to *Jacques de Vitry*¹¹ expresses the belief that the *exempla* of Bozon are taken largely from some Anglo-Norman collection now lost.

There has been but one critical study of the fables of Bozon since the edition of the text, and this is merely a brief discussion by Herlet in his work on Fable Literature in the Middle Ages¹². The author believes that M. Meyer has not shown clearly enough the relationship between Bozon and Marie de France. He adds the following fables to the editor's list of those fables which depend upon Marie de France:

1. Fables taken directly from Marie¹³:

23 (Marie XXIX); 42 (Marie LXXI); 47 (Marie LI); 50 (Marie CI); 130 (Marie LXXXIV).

2. Fables dependent in part on Marie:

17 (Marie LXXIX); 18 (Marie XXXI); 55 (Marie IV); 61 (Marie LXI); 94 (Marie XLIX); 116 (Marie XCVIII, Odo XXXIX); 142 (Marie LXX).

For the following fables Herlet gives Odo of Sherington as the source of Bozon:

10. Cf. *La Littérature Française au Moyen âge (Deuxième édition)*, p. 119. On page 223 of this same work, M. Paris places Bozon in the thirteenth century; in the chronological table, however, he is put in the fourteenth century.

11. Cf. Crane, *Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, p. 112.

12. Cf. Herlet, *Asopische Fable im Mittelalter*, Hamburg, 1892, pp. 51-60.

13. The references here to Marie de France correspond to Warnke's edition of Marie's fables, and not to Roquefort's edition as given by Herlet.

8 (Odo LXX); 15 (Odo XI); 17 (Odo IV); 21 (Odo LVIII); 46 (Odo LXXIV); 53 (Odo LXIV); 120 (Odo XXXIII); 121 (Odo LIV^a); 128 (Odo XIX).

According to Herlet, Bozon has been influenced by the Romulus Vulgaris tradition in regard to the following fables :

26 (Rom. Vulgaris, Bk. I, 1); 30 (Rom. Vulgaris, Bk. IV, 3); 49 (Rom. Vulgaris, Bk. I, 2); 131 (Rom. Vulgaris, Bk. I, 6).

Such, in general, are the results reached by Herlet. It is clear that many points in reference to the true character of the work of Bozon remain unsettled. Herlet has neither discussed the chief characteristics of the fables of Bozon, nor the probability of an English or a French source.

Nothing further had been written concerning the fables of Bozon until the year 1896, when Hervieux, in his work on Odo of Sherington¹⁴, placed Bozon as dependent for the greater part of his fables, at least, on Odo. Hervieux holds that Bozon made use of a collection containing the fables of Odo of Sherington and other fables, but that the borrowings were made mostly from Odo, and for this reason he assigns Bozon a place among the imitators of this fabulist. He is convinced that Bozon really translated the text of Odo of Sherington in other cases than those indicated by M. Meyer¹⁵. In short, he holds that Bozon has translated or, at least, paraphrased the majority of his fables from this fabulist.

It is evident, therefore, from these differences of opinion regarding the character of the fables of Bozon, that numerous questions arise which have not, and perhaps can not, receive a perfectly satisfactory solution. But since the appearance of the text of Nicole Bozon, Hervieux has published a second edition of his work on the Latin fabulists, in which several new fables appear that were not noted in his first edition. He has also edited the fables of Odo of Sherington, the introduction

14. Cf. Hervieux, *Étude sur les Fables et les Paraboles d'Endus de Cheriton*, p. 92.

15. Cf. p. 6 of this Introduction.

to which throws much light upon related fable collections. Warnke¹⁶ has also issued a new edition of the fables of Marie de France, with a valuable introduction to the same. A renewed and more careful study of the fables of Bozon, made with the aid of these works, leads to a number of interesting results.

b. DIFFICULTIES OF THE SUBJECT.

To determine the exact relations existing among the fables of the various fable collections is, in most cases, extremely difficult, owing to the complexity of the problem presented to the investigator. Each fable must be carefully compared with the corresponding fables in other collections in order to ascertain the relationship, if any, which exists among them. To do this it is necessary to take up each separate motif, and make it the subject of a comparative study. Thus, it is only by a careful comparison of the fables of Bozon with the corresponding versions found in the various fable collections that any true light can be thrown on the sources of the fables cited here and there in his work.

One reason why this subject is especially difficult is the fact that in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries pious authors, under the pretext of edifying and, at the same time, amusing their readers, put into their collections all sorts of legends, jests, tales and fables. These stories were of Oriental, Latin, French and English origin, and in their passage from one language to another it is not surprising that they have not, as a rule, preserved their original character. They fall into the hands of redactors who have, or think they have, literary ability, and who do not feel obliged to respect the original text. To follow four or five authors through their versions of these fables, to study what the fables have become in the hands of the different

16. Warnke, *Die Fabeln der Marie de France*, Halle, 1898 (Vol. VI of *Bibliotheca Normannica*, edited by H. Suchier).

poets, to note the changes to which the fables have been subjected, to examine the new moral applications that have been drawn from them—all this is necessary and can be accomplished only by dealing with the subject systematically in the minutest details.

Two things make this comparison especially difficult in regard to the fables of Bozon; namely, the fact that many of his fables are only given summarily, the fable being introduced frequently in the following manner: "*Ici on peut conter de—*"; or, "*Ici on peut conter une fable, coment—*"¹⁷. In one place¹⁸ there is nothing more than a mere reference to a fable: "*Ici peot l'em dire coment le sienge pria le gopil qe il lui feïst solaz de une partie de sa cowe en allegeance del une en avancement del autre.*" At times it would seem that Bozon had developed a fable orally before his hearers¹⁹; in other cases, however, the fable is sufficiently amplified in written forms²⁰. Again, in several of the fables of Bozon, motifs are frequently introduced which are not found in any known collection of fables. For this reason it is often a most difficult question to decide whether or not Bozon knew some fable collection which is today not extant.

C. PLAN OF THE WORK.

In discussing the fables of Bozon, I have endeavored to point out the relation, if any, which exist between Bozon and the chief fable collections of the Middle Ages made prior to his time. I have shown, whenever it was possible, whether Bozon followed the Romulus Vulgaris tradition or the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition, as these are the two chief branches with which we are here concerned. It has not been thought necessary to mention any collection connected with either of these two important groups which do not offer any variant motifs, or show that Bozon had made use of it. A com-

17. Cf. *C. M. de Bozon*, par. 8, 10, 21.

18. Cf. *C. M. de Bozon*, par. 74.

19. Cf. *C. M. de Bozon*, par. 34, 42, 72, 74, etc.

20. Cf. *C. M. de Bozon*, par. 120, 145.

parison has also been made of the Bozon material with the more important works of a religious type containing certain stray fables, which Bozon could well have known; such as, Odo of Sherington, Jacques de Vitry, Bromiardus, etc. Many minor collections²¹ have also been examined, and whenever any connection between them and Bozon is apparent, such relationship is noted.

A study of the fables of Bozon will readily convince one that Bozon was acquainted with the fables of Marie de France in some form or other. Marie's poetical version of Æsopic fables were very popular in England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. To judge from the number of manuscripts of her fables still extant, it would seem that copies of them must have been at the time of Bozon in many of the important libraries and monasteries of England, and also in the North of France. Moreover, it was not uncommon for the nobles to possess a few books of literary character such as Marie's fables. Although it is perhaps hardly probable that a preacher of so humble a station in life as Bozon appears to have been, was himself the possessor of such a work, it would be remarkable if he were not, at least, acquainted with the excellent collection of fables of his illustrious countrywoman.

Another work of the same character as Bozon's sermons is the *Fables* and *Parabolæ* of Odo of Sherington. Odo lived in the first half of the thirteenth century. His collection of sermons was very popular with the clergy throughout England, since it was constantly used by them in the amplification of their sermons, and the moralized fables and parables therein contained were frequently copied by later fabulists and other writers²². Bozon's sermons show clearly that he was familiar with the works of Odo.

These two authors, Marie de France and Odo of Sherington, seem, therefore, to have been the chief

21. For a list of the works consulted, see Bibliography.

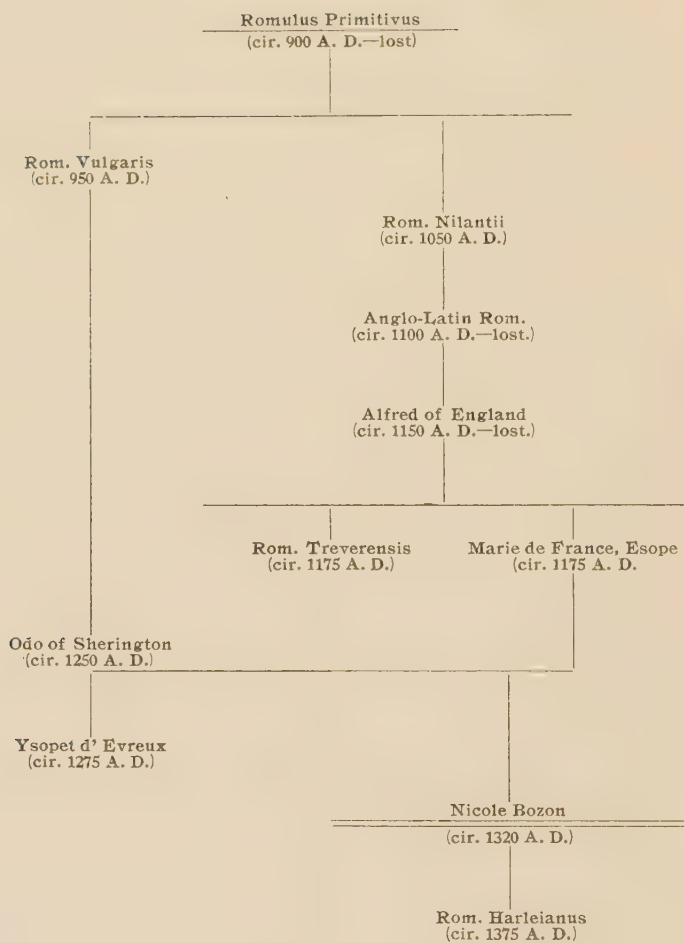
22. Cf. Hervieux, Vol. IV, p. 146.

sources for Bozon's fables. For the rest of his fables, which are not derived from either of the authors just mentioned, it would seem that he was dependent on a variety of sources. We must give him the credit for being familiar with some of the chief religious works of his time; as those of *Jacques de Vitry*, *Vitae Patrum*, the *Disciplina Clericalis*, etc., since to these he is indebted for some of his *exempla* ²³. Again we may well suppose that in his relations with other men of his profession, he probably became acquainted with a certain number of new fables not contained in the literary collections noted, or with familiar fables in new forms.

d. SCHEME OF FABLE COLLECTIONS.

The position to which Bozon should be assigned among the writers of stray fables in the Middle Ages, is next to be determined. On one side, from Marie de France, he is a continuator of the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition; on the other hand, as a follower of Odo of Sherington, he is dependent, in part, on the Romulus *Vulgaris* tradition. From a study of the fables of Bozon it does not appear that he knew the collections of Nilantius, the Romulus Treverensis or the Romulus Roberti. Nor do his fables bear the ear-marks of the Avianus type of Æsopic fables. Bozon's place in fable literature will, then, probably be shown by the following scheme :

23. M. Meyer is of the opinion that Bozon drew the great majority of his *exempla* at least, from a work closely resembling the *De proprietatibus rerum* of Barthelmy the Englishman (or Glanville).



c. COMPARATIVE TABLE OF VERSIONS.

The following table will show at a glance the fable collections, and other works, containing versions parallel to the fables found in Bozon. Only those versions have been included in this table which may reasonably be considered as perhaps closely related to those of our author.

TABLE OF PARALLEL VERSIONS.

Bozon	Rom. Vulgaris	Rom. Niantii	Marie de France	Rom. Treverensis	Odo of Sherington	Miscellaneous
1-4. Lion as Judge.....					81	Paris Promptuarium 3.
2-8. Fox and Crow.....	I, 14	I, 14	13	14	70	Bromiardus, G. IV. 16.
3-10. Crow and Bees.....						
4-14. Kite and Crow.....						
5-15. Thrush and Starling.....			80	123	11	Rom. Vratislavenensis 27.
6-17. Owl and Hawk.....			79	122	4	Rom. Roberti 12.
7-18. Peacock and Destiny.....	IV, 4	III, 2	31	79		
8-21. Wolf and Rabbit.....					58	Gesta Romanorum 57.
9-23. Lion Reigning.....	III, 20	II, 20	29	77		Rom. Roberti 22.
10-26. Cock and Jewel.....	I, 1	I, 1	1	1		Bromiardus, A. XXVI. 32.
11-30. Fox and Plowman.....		I, 3	30	78		Bromiardus, C. VI. 14.
12-34. 121. Sheep and Crow.....	IV, 21	III, 11	40	88		
13-42. Wolf and Hedgehog.....			71	62		
14-46. Wolf and Fox.....					74	R. de Renart, III. 374-510.
15-47. Monkey and Child.....			51	41		Jacques de Vitry 143.
16-49. Wolf and Lamb.....	I, 2	I, 2	2	2	24	Spec. Hist., Bk. IV. c.
17-50. Cat as Bishop.....			101	132		
18-53a. Roaming Cat.....					56	Jacques de Vitry 209.
19-53b. Birds Seeking Wife } for Eagle.....						
20-55. Sheep and Wolf be- } fore Lion.....	I, 4	I, 4	4	4	23	
21-56. Rabbit Elected Judge.....						
22-61. Fox and Dove.....			51	61		Jacques de Vitry 20.
23-72. Wolf and Crane.....	I, 8	I, 9	7	9	6	Jacques de Vitry 136.
24-74. Fox and Monkey.....	III, 17	II, 19	28	76		Jacques de Vitry 171.
25-75. Rat Seeking Wife.....			73	116	63	Rom. Bern. Pr. 42.
26-91. Sun Seeking Wife.....	I, 1	I, 8	6	8		Jacques de Vitry 142.
27-94. Man and Trees.....	III, 14	II, 16	49	32		John of Sheppey 66.
28-114. Bear Proud of Hands.....						
29-116. Fox and Pigeon.....			98	129	39	Rom. Monacensis 31.
30-120. Ass and Pig.....					33	Gesta Romanorum 50.
31-121. Cat and Mice.....					54a	Ps. Gault. Angl. 3.
32-128. Fox and Sheep.....						Disc. Clericalis 21.
33-129. Lion and Mouse.....	I, 17	I, 17	16	17		Spec. Doct., Bk. II. c. 116.
34-130. Man and Oxen.....			84	63		Rom. Roberti 18.
35-131. Lion and Companions.....	I, 6	I, 6	11	6		Jacques de Vitry 156.
36-135. Hen Married to Hawk.....						
37-142. Ass' Heart.....			70	61		Avianus 30.
38-145. Fox and Cat.....					150	Jacques de Vitry 174,

f. OBJECTS OF INVESTIGATION.

In the following Comparative Study of the *Æsopic Fable* in Nicole Bozon, I shall endeavor to point out, above all, the unusually close relationship that exists between Bozon and Marie de France. Herlet has recognized the interdependence of the two collections, but he has shown it for only a few fables ²⁴.

The dependence of Bozon on Odo of Sherington I have found to be much less extensive than that on Marie de France, although the general character of his work more closely resembles that of Odo than that of his more illustrious country-woman. The place, as a follower of Odo, given him by Hervieux, is, therefore, not so well deserved as that of a follower of Marie de France—a fact which will become manifest, I hope, in the course of the present investigation.

The numbers, as well as the varied types of the fables found in the sermons of Bozon, prove that he was a diligent collector and adapter of *Æsopic* material. Not only has he taken his material from books of a religious character, but also from oral tradition, both monkish and popular.

Finally, I shall endeavor to point out in the following pages the chief characteristics of Bozon in his treatment of the *Æsopic Fable*, as a constituent part of Mediaeval Literature. In general, it may be said that Bozon's fables have a peculiar cast, since well known fables frequently show not only an addition of new motifs, but also a notable difference in the characters introduced as actors of the fable.

These striking features can be adequately explained only by a careful and detailed study of the individual fables, combined with a more general view embracing a consideration both of the special character and the chief aim of his work.

24. Cf. p. 8.

SOURCES OF THE INDIVIDUAL FABLES.

FABLES DERIVED FROM MARIE DE FRANCE, OR A COMMON SOURCE.

The fables of Bozon which appear to be derived from Marie de France, or at least belong to the Anglo-Latin Romulus as opposed to the Romulus Vulgaris tradition, in some way or other, are the following:

- Bozon 17 (Marie 79), Owl and Hawk;
- Bozon 18 (Marie 31), Peacock and Destiny;
- Bozon 23 (Marie 29), Lion as King;
- Bozon 42 (Marie 71), Wolf and Hedgehog;
- Bozon 47 (Marie 51), Monkey and Child;
- Bozon 50 (Marie 101), Cat as Bishop;
- Bozon 55 (Marie 4), Sheep and Wolf before Lion;
- Bozon 61 (Marie 61), Fox and Dove;
- Bozon 75 (Marie 73), Rat Seeking Wife;
- Bozon 91 (Marie 6), Sun Seeking Wife;
- Bozon 94 (Marie 49), Man and Trees;
- Bozon 129 (Marie 16), Lion and Mouse;
- Bozon 130 (Marie 84), Man and Oxen;
- Bozon 131 (Marie 11), Lion and Companions;
- Bozon 142 (Marie 70), Ass' Heart.

Each fable in this list will be taken up and compared in detail with the parallel versions found in the various fable collections, or in other such works as it has been possible to control. The order followed in the discussion of these fables is the same as that in which they occur in Bozon's text.

I. OWL AND HAWK.

Versions: Marie de France 79; Rom. Treverensis 122; Odo of Sherington 4; Rom. Roberti 12; Bozon 17; John of Sheppey 51 ¹.

This fable, as M. Meyer states in his notes on Bozon ², exists under two different forms. In Odo of

-
1. The references to the parallel versions are arranged in chronological order.
 2. Cf. *C. M. de Bozon*, p. 232, note 17.

Sherington and in John of Sheppey it bears the name of *Buzzard and Hawk*, while in Bozon, the Rom. Treverensis and Marie de France it bears the title of *Owl and Hawk*. That there is a crossing here of both traditions, as indicated by the different names just noted, is evident from the version in John of Sheppey, where the young of the hawk speak of the young owl thus :

“Domine, iste est cum magno capite.”

This is the same answer as given in the Rom. Treverensis and in the Rom. Roberti, where such an answer is fitting; but where it refers to the buzzard (*busardus*), as in John of Sheppey, it must be regarded as peculiar. It appears that John of Sheppey knew also the version which is common to Marie de France, the Rom. Treverensis and the Rom. Roberti; that is, the Owl and Hawk type; and that a confusion arose in his mind between this version and the Buzzard and Hawk type. This supposition will help to explain the resemblance in this fable which Bozon's version has with that of Odo of Sherington and also with that of Marie de France. Bozon, as well as John of Sheppey, may have known both versions.

This fable probably belonged to the collection of Alfred of England, as English verses are found in the versions as given both by Odo of Sherington and by Bozon. In Odo, the English verses :

Of eie hi the brohtte
Of athele hi ne myhtte,

are similar to verses 29-32 of Marie de France :

De l' oef les poi jeo bien geter
E par chalur e par cover,
Mais niënt fors de lur nature.
Maldite seit tels nurette !

Bozon has a similar expression in :

“Stroke oule and schrape oule
and evere is oule oule.”

Prof. Mall ³ believes that the English verses in Odo of Sherington are a remnant of the collection of Alfred of England.

This fable appears to have been founded upon, or to have been the origin of, a very old and popular proverb, which is found in most of the Teutonic languages.

Bozon is indebted to Marie de France, or at least to the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition, for the title of his fable, and not to Odo of Sherington. There are, moreover, some unmistakable similarities between Bozon and Marie de France which do not appear in Bozon and Odo. The principal motifs of the fable will now be taken up and discussed in detail.

a. In Marie de France and in Bozon we find *Huans* and *Ostur*; in Odo of Sherington and in John of Sheppey, *Busardus* and *Accipiter*.

b. Marie de France and the Rom. Treverensis agree in that the Hawk and the Owl have formed a friendship. In Odo of Sherington and in John of Sheppey the *Busardus* secretly deposits an egg in the nest of the Hawk; while in Bozon the Owl, by begging the Hawk to bring up its *fiz*, naturally presupposes a friendship as existing between the Owl and the Hawk.

c. Both Marie de France and Bozon state that the Hawk goes for food and on returning finds its nest befouled. Compare Bozon :

Tan que le ostur voleit qere lur viaunde,
revynt et trova son ny ordement soilli,

and Marie de France :

Puis lur ala querre viande,
.
.
.
.
.
.
Mes quant a els fu repaireiez,
Esteit sis niz orz e suilliez.

(vv. 12-14.)

The similarity here in the use of words is very striking. Neither Odo of Sherington nor John of

3. Cf. E. Mall, *Zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Fabel-litteratur*, Z F R P, Vol. IX (1880) pp. 161-204.

Sheppey, on the other hand, speak of the Hawk as going for food.

d. The phrase in Bozon :

Qe est ceo que jeo trove encontre norture ?
Qui ad ceo fet ?

which M. Meyer compares with Odo :

Quis vestrum est qui nidum suum
contra naturam commaculavit ?

and by which he thinks there is shown an incontestable relationship between Odo and Bozon in regard to this fable, seems to me, to say the least, somewhat doubtful. The same idea is expressed in Marie de France. As was noted above ⁴ Bozon may have known both forms (Owl-Hawk, Buzzard-Hawk) of the fable and since he knew Odo, he may have been indirectly influenced by him, but the general motifs of the fable, as will appear, are similar to those in Marie de France.

Again, it should be observed that there is a difference, as will be seen below, in manuscript reading between the text as quoted by M. Meyer ⁵ and that found in Hervieux's edition of the fables of Odo of Sherington. The version in Hervieux (vol. IV, p. 181) has simply :

Quis est qui nidum maculat ?

(as also in Oesterley's edition ⁶), and not as Hervieux (vol. II, first edition) has it ⁷ :

Qui nidum suum *contra naturam* commaculavit ?

If this last reading be not adopted the relation between Odo of Sherington and Bozon in this fable is not at all clear.

e. Bozon and Marie de France agree in that the Hawk says, in both versions, that its young (*fiz*, in

4. Cf. page 18.

5. Cf. *C. M. de Bozon*, p. 233.

6. Cf. Oesterley, *Die Narrationes des Odo de Ciringtonia*, Jahrb. f. roman. und engl. lit. Vol. IX (1868), p. 150.

7. Cf. Hervieux, Vol. II (first edition), p. 601.

Bozon) are in the right, and both authors (Bozon and Marie) follow this statement with a sort of proverb :

“Stroke oule and schrape oule and evere
is oule oule,”

of Bozon has the same signification as Marie's

De l' oef les poi jeo bien geter,
E par chalur e par cover,
Mais niënt fors de lur nature.

(vv. 29-31.)

The English verses which are found at the end of the fable in Odo of Sherington prove that the fable originally came from the same source as that of Marie de France ; that is, from the collection of Alfred of England. Whether Bozon knew a collection of English fables closely connected to that of Marie de France or not will be discussed in a subsequent publication. It is probable, however, in this case, that Bozon being familiar with the old English proverb, and having an audience composed, in large measure, of Englishmen, preferred to use the English rather than the French words to illustrate his thought.

f. In Bozon and Marie de France, it is not noted that the young are thrown out of the nest, as is stated in Odo of Sherington and in John of Sheppey.

g. The moral of the fable in Odo differs totally from that in Bozon. Compare, on the other hand, the moral in Marie de France with that in Bozon.

Marie de France :

Pur ceo dît hum en reprovier
De la pume del dulz pumier,
S' elle chiet sur un fust amer,
Ja ne savra tant ruëler
Qu 'al mordre ne seit cuneüe,
Desur quel arbre ele est creüe.

(vv. 33-38.)

Bozon :

“Trendle the appel nevere so fer he
conyes fro what tree he cam!”

There can be no doubt here that Bozon has taken the moral of his fable directly from Marie de France. The use of the English instead of the French is to be explained as above (e).

In *résumé*, then, for this fable we have the following considerations: Taking into account the number of motifs that are common to Bozon and Marie de France, as opposed to Odo of Sherington and John of Sheppey, it is readily seen that the two former agree in almost every particular. Any divergence in our author from the version of Marie de France can, I think, be explained by individual taste.

In Hervieux (Vol. II) this fable is found only in the Rom. Treverensis and the Rom. Roberti. It is evident, therefore, that Bozon must either have drawn it from Marie de France (or at least from the same or similar source on which Marie drew for her version) or from some fable collection composed for the use of preachers. It should be stated here that the versions of this fable in the Rom. Treverensis and the Rom. Roberti agree, naturally, very closely with Marie de France. Since this is true of the majority of the fables which are common with these collections and with Marie de France, I shall not discuss them in respect to their relation to Bozon, except in certain cases where motifs are added which do not appear in Marie. Besides, it will be shown later ⁸ that Bozon for certain fables, could not have been dependent on the Rom. Treverensis or the Rom. Roberti.

There is no good reason why Bozon, since he was an Anglo-Norman and wrote in French, should not have been acquainted with the fables of Marie de France. A study of the foregoing comparison of this fable of Bozon with analagous fables in the various fable collections convinces one that Bozon did draw this fable directly from Marie de France and not from some collection of fables intended more especially for church use.

8. For example, compare fable of Wolf and Hedgehog, p. 30.

II. PEACOCK AND DESTINY.

Versions: Rom. Vulgaris, IV, 4; Rom. Nilantii, III, 2; Marie de France 31; Rom. Treverensic 79; Bozon 18.

Bozon's use of the word 'Destiny' for goddess, or Juno, recalls fable 6 in Marie de France (*De sole nubente*):

Les creatures s' assemblerent ;
A la destinee en alerent.

(vv. 5-6.)

Our author also uses the same expression in paragraph 91, fable of *Sun Seeking Wife*:

Les autres alerent a Destinee.

It is remarkable that while the Rom. Nilantii, the Rom. Vulgaris and all the Latin versions dependent on the latter designate the Deity as Juno, the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition; that is, Marie de France and the Rom. Treverensis, use a different appellation. In Marie de France it is *deuesse* (Mss. A D *destinée*, Q *nature*), in the Rom. Treverensis *creator*. This fact is sufficient to show that Bozon was not inspired by the Rom. Vulgaris tradition for his appellation of the Deity, but by the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition. The frequent interchange in the manuscripts of Marie de France of the words *destinee*, *deuesse*, *nature*, would lead one to suspect that it is to this author that Bozon is indebted for the word *destinée*.

The fable in Bozon presents some motifs which are common to both the Rom. Vulgaris and the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition. Both traditions agree in the motif that the Peacock is grieved because it could not sing as well as the Nightingale. In the reply of the goddess to the Peacock, consoling it by speaking of its beautiful person, it is worth notice that Bozon agrees in a striking manner with the Rom. Vulgaris.

Compare Bozon :

Tu as le col si gent, la cowe longe qe
a terre pent, voz pennez sont si colurez les
uns de porpre, les autres blieus, les uns
com saunke, les autres desorrez

and the Rom. *Vulgaris* :

Visus tuus superat vocem, et formatua
superat lusciniæ colore et nitore smaragdi
profusus es; nullus similis tibi; pictisque
plumis gemmae cauda et collo refulgent.

Marie de France and the Rom. *Treverensis*, on the other hand, merely mention the beautiful feathers of the Peacock.

The Rom. *Vulgaris* and Bozon agree, again, in another motif. In the Rom. *Nilantii*, Marie de France and the Rom. *Treverensis* the Peacock is despised (or mocked) by all. In Bozon and the Rom. *Vulgaris* the motif of mocked does not enter.

Bozon and Marie de France agree in the final answer of the goddess.

Bozon :

Soyez payé de ceo qe avez.

Marie de France :

Bien te deit ta bealtez suffire.

The Rom. *Treverensis* here agrees with Marie de France, but the other versions mentioned have nothing similar to it.

It has been pointed out ⁹ that Bozon agrees with Marie de France in two important motifs, and with the Rom. *Vulgaris* an equal number of times ¹⁰. It would be difficult to state, therefore, to which collection Bozon was indebted for this fable. I do not venture to decide the question. It will be noticed, however, that Bozon and Marie de France agree at the beginning and at the end of the fable. This being a very popular fable, it is possible that Bozon is not here dependent on any par-

9. Cf. p. 23.

10. Cf. examples above.

ticular fable collection, but that he was well acquainted with it from oral tradition and that he wrote it down from memory. This would account for the occurrences in his fable of motifs that are common to both the Rom. Vulgaris and the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition.

III. LION AS KING.

Versions: Rom. Vulgaris, III, 20; Rom. Nilantii, II, 20; Marie de France 29; Rom. Treverensis 77; Rom. Roberti 22; Bozon 23.

This fable also exists under two different forms. In the group: Rom. Vulgaris, the Rom. Nilantii and in Bozon it is the Lion that is the despot; in Marie de France, the Rom. Treverensis and the Rom. Roberti the Wolf plays the rôle of the despot after the abdication of the Lion. Bozon may have taken the Lion from the Rom. Vulgaris tradition ¹¹, but the more likely supposition is that, knowing the fable in Marie de France, where the Lion is introduced as King of the Beasts, he did not choose to introduce the Wolf in his version, since this is but a simple abridgment of the longer fable.

It should be noticed that in paragraph 23 of Bozon's sermons ¹², in which the fable occurs, it is the nature of the lion that is discussed. Bozon may have wished to retain the same actor in the fable as that mentioned in the *exemplum*. There are numerous examples occurring throughout the text of Bozon where the names of the animals employed in the *Exempla* appear, at times, to have some influence on the actors in the fable which immediately follows ¹³. Such an explanation would not be necessary but for the fact that Bozon in other particulars agrees closely enough with Marie de France. Herlet ¹⁴ suggests that fable 73 of Marie de France

11. That is, the Romulus Vulgaris, or fable collections dependent on the Romulus Vulgaris, as opposed to the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition.

12. Cf. *C. M. de Bozon*, par. 23, p. 37.

13. Cf. Fable of Fox and Pigeon (par. 116), p. 34, note.

14. Cf. Herlet, *Äsopische Fabel im Mittelalter*, p. 56.

(Roquefort's edition) may have here influenced Bozon. The fable begins thus:

Jadis avint qu' uns lous pramist
Que char ne mangereit, ceo dist,
Les quarante jurs de quaresme,
(vv. 1-3.)

which recalls Bozon:

Le leon fist serement que il ne mangereit
char tot le quarasme.

But here also the fable speaks of the Wolf and not of the Lion.

In spite of the fact that Bozon has, in common with the Rom. Vulgaris tradition, the Lion as the despot, it will be clearly shown from what follows, I believe, that for this fable he must have been indebted to Marie de France.

a. In Bozon the Lion first approaches a *chievere*. In Marie de France the Wolf calls a *chevrue*; in the Rom. Roberti a *capreolum*. The Rom. Vulgaris, the Rom. Nilantii and the Rom. Treverensis, on the other hand, mention no animal except the Ape as being devoured by the wolf.

b. Two important motifs which appear throughout the Rom. Vulgaris tradition are: (1) the lion leads the beasts to a secret place and (2):

Omnes bestias que dixerunt os suum
putere e que dicebant non putere, equaliter
crudeliter necabat, ita ut saturaretur
sanguine ¹⁵.

These two motifs do not appear in the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition (except in the Rom. Nilantii), nor in Bozon.

c. In Bozon the Lion calls an assembly and demands judgment on the Goat, who had insulted the "*bailiff de terre*." Compare this with Marie de France:

A tuz ensemble demanda
Quel jugement chescuns fera
De celui ki dit sun seignur
Hunte e leidesce e deshonur,
(vv. 51-54.)

15. Cf. Hervieux, Vol. II, *Rom. Nilantii*, p. 538. The Rom. Nilantii here follows the Rom. Vulgaris tradition.

The Rom. Treverensis and the Rom. Roberti agree with this motif, except that in the former the victims are merely called *bestia*, the Ape alone being mentioned more particularly.

d. In Marie de France and in Bozon the Goat is condemned to death.

e. In Bozon the Lion next approaches a *poleyn*. In Marie de France we have *une altere beste*; in the Rom. Treverensis *bestia*, and in the Rom. Roberti, *damnula* (or *damnulum*). It appears that Marie's source had not mentioned here any particular animal, while the Rom. Roberti has substituted *damnula* and Bozon *poleyn*. Such substitutions at the will of the author are very common. For example, M. Meyer in his note on this fable ¹⁶ gives a version taken from the moral treatise known under the name of *Cy nous dit*, where the Lion's victims are successively a Lamb, Sow and Fox.

With Bozon the *poleyn* answers :

Sire, vostre aleyne pluz douce odure
que mirre on canele.

Marie de France :

. . . Plus suëf odor
Ne senti unkes a nul jur.

(vv. 67-68.)

It is evident that Bozon has followed the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition, since there is nothing in the Rom. Vulgaris tradition that corresponds to the *poleyn* of Bozon or to the *altre beste* of Marie de France. The *poleyn*'s answer in Bozon reminds one of the answer of the Ape in the Rom. Nilantii, where it says the breath of the Lion is like *cinomyn*.

f. Bozon: the Lion accuses the *poleyn* of lying. Marie De France: the same accusation against *altre beste*.

g. The Lion in Bozon next meets a Monkey, which being questioned in regard to the Lion's breath, refuses to speak. In Marie de France, the Wolf puts the same

16. Cf. *C. M. de Bozon*, p. 238, note 23.

question to the Ape whose answer is : *entre dous ert*. In the Rom. Roberti we have :

Quae dixit, quod nec multum gravis
erat, nec multum suavis, sed medio
modò se habens.

Rom. Treverensis :

Quae utranque partem responsionis
metuens, invenit medium, dicens,
“ Domine, anhelitus tuus ad utrumque
se habet.”

The Ape's answer in Marie de France, and in her dependents, is entirely different from that which the Rom. Vulgaris tradition offers, where the Ape answers :

Ille quasi cynamonnum dixit fragare.

The same answer is given in the Rom. Nilantii.

In Marie de France and in her dependents, and also in Bozon, the first animal questioned is eaten by the Wolf (in Bozon, Lion), because it spoke the truth ; a second animal is killed because it lied ; and the third animal, refusing to commit itself, is silent in Bozon, while in Marie de France and in her dependents, it says, the breath of the Wolf is *entre dous*. This gradation is found only here, and hence Bozon could have gotten it nowhere else.

The motif of the Ape keeping silent is peculiar to Bozon. Whether or not he knew a version of this fable with such a motif can only be conjectured. It may be that for this motif Bozon is dependent upon an oral version with which he became acquainted through the folk. It is also possible that this motif is original with him, for we find another variant in the *Cy nous dit* collection mentioned above ¹⁷. Here the Fox replies to the Lion :

Certes, Monseigneur, je sui tous
enreumez, je ne sens riens ¹⁸ !

It is plain, then, that Bozon has not taken this

17. Cf. p. 27.

18. Cf. *C. M. de Bozon*, p. 238, note 23.

fable from the Rom. Vulgaris tradition. The general motifs agree closely with those in Marie de France. The beginning and end are wanting in Bozon, but his fable is only a simple abridgment of the longer fable of Marie. It is to be noted that this fable is not in Odo of Sherington.

IV. WOLF AND HEDGEHOG.

Versions: Marie de France 71; Rom. Treverensis 62; Bozon 42.

This fable has not been widely current. Outside of Marie de France and the texts dependent on her, it is found only in a collection of stories published by von Hahn ¹⁹. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Bozon agrees, throughout, very closely with Marie de France.

Both fables begin in the same manner. Compare Bozon:

Le lou prist un agneile e fui sui des
chiens et des bastons, e prist son congee
del hericeoun d'eschaper au bois,

and Marie de France:

Un aignel prist li lous un jour,
Si l'escrîèrent li pastur
Li chien li vunt après huant,
E il s'en vet al bois fuiant.

(vv. 9-12.)

Compare also Bozon:

"Ha"! dist le herison, "baisez moy a
congé prendre,"

and Marie de France:

Li heriçuns li a crié:
"Baise mei veals, par charité."

(vv. 19-20.)

19. Cf. J. G. von Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, 2 Vol., Leipzig, 1864 (cited by Warnke, 'Die Quellen der Marie de France,' *Forschungen zur romanischen Philologie* (Festgabe für Suchier), p. 221).

Still, further, Bozon :

Au beisere le hericeon lui erda
al menton, l' autre escowe la teste
e ceo vent deliverer, mès ceo ne fust
pur rien : od lui maugree le seon lui porta.

Marie :

Li lous baisa le hericun
E il s' aert a sun mentun
.
U il volist, u ne deignast
Al lou estut qu' il l' en portast.
(vv. 25-30.)

Here there can be no doubt as to Bozon's dependence on Marie de France. In the Rom. Treverensis, the fable is more elaborate and offers several peculiarities which are foreign to Marie de France and to Bozon. One example may serve to illustrate this fact. The Wolf says to the Hedgehog :

Jace, misera bestiola, et defenda te a
canibus! ego vero fugiam in latebras
silvarum ut salvus effugiam.

The fable, as represented by Bozon, is an abridgment of the fable of Marie de France, but unless the one were an actual translation of the other, two fables could hardly be more similar. Bozon's use of words and phrases that occur also in the version of Marie de France is especially striking.

V. MONKEY AND CHILD.

Versions: Marie de France 51; Rom. Treverensis. 41; Alex. Nequam (De Naturis Rerum) chap. 129; Jacques de Vitry 143; Rom. Bernensis, Primus, 27; Bozon 47.

One meets with this fable but twice in Hervieux (Vol. II); namely, in the Rom. Treverensis and the Rom. Bernensis, (Primus). It occurs also in Marie de France. The Rom. Treverensis and Marie de France, which, naturally, resemble each other, have some traits in common with Bozon as opposed to every other known version of this fable.

a. In Bozon, Marie de France and the Rom. Treverensis, the Monkey first shows its child to the Lion. In the Rom. Bernensis, Alexander Nequam and Jacques de Vitry no mention is made of the Lion.

b. In Bozon, Marie de France and the Rom. Treverensis, the Monkey is grieved at the answer of the Lion and approaches the Bear.

Compare Bozon :

Le sienge s' en departi corucee e vynt
al ourse e demanda coment lui fust
avys de son beal fiz.

and Marie de France :

Cele s' en va triste e dolente.
Un urs encuntree en mi la sente.
Li urs estut, si l' esguarda.

(vv. 13-15.)

c. Bozon :

"Hay !" fet le ours, "est celui le beal
enfant de qi homme parle tant ?"

Marie de France :

"Vei jeo," fet il, "iluec l' enfant,
Dunt les bestes parolent tant
Ki tant par est bels e gentiz ?"

(vv. 17-19.)

In the Rom. Treverensis the Monkey has two children instead of one, as in Marie de France and Bozon. The Bear says to the Monkey :

Illi essent filii quos omnes bestie sic laudassent ?

This is but one of many examples which tend to prove that Bozon is not dependent on the Rom. Treverensis for any of his fables ²⁰.

d. Bozon :

"Soffrez," dit le ours, "qe jeo lui beise,
qe tant ay desire de aver veü."

Marie de France :

Bailliez le ça, tant que jol bes ;
Kar jeol vueil veoir de plus pres.

(vv. 21-22.)

20. Cf. p. 30.

e. In Bozon and in Marie de France the Lion takes the Monkey's child and devours it.

The reflection of the Monkey in Bozon when it sees its child devoured, is lacking in all other versions of this fable. Possibly it is original with our author. In the Rom. Bernensis (Primus) and in Jacques de Vitry, the fable is further extended by a description of the revenge of the Monkey.

This fable, as has just been pointed out ²¹, occurs in two different forms. In the first group of texts: Nequam, the Rom. Bernensis (Primus) and Jacques de Vitry, the Bear alone is mentioned; in the second group: Marie de France, the Rom. Treverensis and Bozon, the Monkey first approaches the Lion and then the Bear.

As has been stated, this fable does not seem to have been very popular; it is not found in the Rom. Vulgaris tradition, nor in Odo of Sherington. A comparison of the texts of Bozon and Marie de France, as shown above, is, I think, sufficient proof that Bozon has here followed Marie de France.

VI. CAT AS BISHOP.

Versions: Marie de France 101; Rom. Treverensis 132; Bozon 50.

Outside of the sermons of Bozon, this fable is met with only in Marie de France and the Rom. Treverensis. Fable 14 of Odo of Sherington, entitled: *De Catto qui se fecit Monachum*, has nothing to do with this fable. It is strange that the editors of the *Contes* did not observe the relation which exists between Bozon and Marie de France 101 (DeCatto infulato). The fable in both authors begins in the same manner.

Bozon :

Le chat sit sur le fourure e vynt la
sorice champestre e la sorice ewestre . . .

Marie de France :

Unz chaz seeit desur un fur
· · · · ·

Vit le mulet e la suriz.

(vv. 1-3.)

21. Cf. p. 31.

In Bozon three species of mice come before the Cat; in Marie de France the Cat sees *le mulet et la suriz*. The use of the three species of mice by Bozon can be explained by the fact that throughout his fables are found many expressions of a light, jocular tone which were well adapted to awaken interest among the class of people with whom he had to deal ²².

Compare further Bozon:

Ordre! Ordre! vous estes de una subicion,
jeo sui vostre evesque; venez, (si) pernez
ma beniceon;

and Marie de France:

Sis apela
E dist que lur evesques fu
E que mal conseil unt eu
Que sa beneiçun n' aveient.

(vv. 4-8.)

The Mice, on refusing to approach, say in Marie de France that they would rather die than come under the Cat's claws. In the Rom. Treverensis:

Carius est michi ut moriar paganus
quam quod sub vestra manu fiam christianus.

Bozon shows his humor with:

Nenil, jeo voil meux estre ici od ta
maliceoñ, qe venir plus près pur
aver ta *beneiceoñ*.

22. For example, in the fable Wolf and Lamb (Bozon par. 49):

The distinctive feature in this fable is that the Wolf and the Lamb come to the river to wash their feet. It would be in vain, I think, to search for a version in which this motif is found. I see, in the use of this phrase, the expression of a light vein of humor which is common with our author, and which crops out in other places in the fables. Several such examples may be noted:

1. Par. 26, *Cock and Jewel*: the Cock finds a *gold ring*, and not, as in all the other versions of this fable, a precious stone.

2. Par. 30, *Fox and Plowman*: the Fox *keeps one eye open*.

3. Par. 116, *Fox and Pigeon*: the Fox says its sack is torn and *all its tricks have escaped*.

4. Par. 142, *Ass' Heart*: the Fox *judges the urine of the Lion*, and the Ass begs leave to go home *to make its will*.

Still other such examples may be found. All these just mentioned bring in new motifs, as in this fable of the Wolf and Lamb washing their feet in the river. I doubt whether this motif can be explained in any other manner.

Except in the case of a literal translation it would be hard to find two versions more similar than those of Marie de France and Bozon. Bozon, assuredly, knew the fables of Marie de France and it is from this collection that he drêw his fable.

VII. SHEEP AND WOLF BEFORE LION.

Versions: Rom. Vulgaris I, 4; Rom. Nilantii I, 4; Marie de France 4; Rom. Treverensis 4; Odo of Sherington 23; Bozon 55.

We have here the familiar fable of *Ovis*, *Canis* et *Lupus* of Phaedrus ²³. This fable has been widely known; it is found in the Rom. Nilantii, the Rom. Treverensis, the Rom. Vulgaris, Marie de France and Odo of Sherington.

In Bozon the actors are *loup*, *gopil*, *corf*, *mastyn* and *berbys*; in Marie de France, *chiens*, *escufles*, *lous* and *berbiz*; in the Rom. Treverensis, *canis*, *lupus*, *milvus* and *ovis*. In short, there is no known version of this fable in which the actors correspond with those in Bozon, nor is it hardly possible that he knew of any such version in which these characters figure.

It will be noticed that the *exemplum* immediately preceding the fable under discussion in Bozon ²⁴ says something in regard to the nature of the Crow and of the Fox. This fact may have influened our author in the employment of witnesses for the Wolf ²⁵. *Mastyn*

23. Cf. Havet, fable 18, page 19; Hervieux, Vol. 11, fable 17, p. 13.

24. Cf. *C. M. de Bozon*, par. 55, p. 77.

25. A similar dependence, apparently, of fable upon *exemplum* in regard to the actors in the fable will be found in Bozon, par. 116 (fable of Fox and Pigeon).

Bozon in this fable agrees, in general, with the common form of all the Western versions. He has, however, one very striking peculiarity; that is, the Dove plays the rôle attributed to the Cat in all other known versions, the Latin as well as the French. Herlet wishes to explain this remarkable variation by assuming that Bozon has confounded two fables found in Marie de France; namely, (1) fable 98, *De Catto et Vulpe*, and (2) fable 61, *De Vulpe et Columba*. Herlet believes that Bozon has, through a failing of memory, brought the Dove into his fable. This supposition is possible, of course, and it would not be an unique case, since in the fable of *Sheep and Wolf before Lion* there appears to be a confusion in Bozon's mind between the two traditions of this fable.

recalls the Dog in Marie de France which acts there, and in other versions also, as accuser of the Sheep.

This fable, as presented by Bozon, offers other striking peculiarities. In the first place, in all the versions mentioned above, except in Bozon and Odo of Sherington, the Dog accuses the Wolf. Secondly, all versions, with the exception of Odo of Sherington and Bozon, agree in that the Dog swears to have loaned the Sheep some bread; Bozon and Odo alone agree in that the Wolf is accused of devouring the companions of

But it seems strange that Bozon, who appears to know the fables so well, should be guilty of such an error.

I believe that the substitution of the Dove for the Cat was for a definite purpose. If one will examine par. 116, on which the fable depends, one will find that a certain kind of dove is mentioned which lives on the fruit of a tree found in India. The fable begins thus.

En la terre de Inde est trovee un arbre,
com dit le livre, de merveillouse grandour.
. . . Enqi habitent une manere de
colombes qe sunt sustenus de cest fruit.

And farther on.

La arbre de vie est la croiz joignant
a la rivere de ces costez qe fruit nous
rend de sustenance e de savacion.
En la umbre de cest arbre meynent
les columbes, . . . mès soulement
le columbe meynt en cel arbre.

Bozon has chosen the fable of *Cat and Fox* to illustrate this *exemplum*. With the usual freedom with which our author treats his subjects, and especially his fables, it is not surprising that he has substituted for the Cat the Dove, to a certain species of which the *exemplum* has reference, for the Dove, of course, can take refuge in a tree as well as the Cat. It must be remembered that the fables of Bozon are dependent on the *exemplum*, and not *vice versa*. The order adopted by Bozon is different from that of collections in which fables are the principal feature of discourse; it is the philosophic thesis that occupies the first rank with Bozon, and the fable, instead of preceding, follows it. With Odo of Sherington, for example, the *exempla* are more independent, and the allegorical explanations (that is, the fable, or story) appended to them possess distinctive features. They form a collection of interesting stories. With Bozon, however, the fable or story which follows the *exemplum* serves as a symbolical interpretation.

It is interesting to note how many similar cases there are in Bozon in which it appears that the subject of the *exemplum* in question has an influence on the choice of actors in the fable that follows. I have found the following instances:

(1) In par. 21 the *exemplum* treats of the nature of the Rabbit; the fable of the Wolf and Rabbit immediately follows.

(2) In par. 55 it is stated that the Crow has a great friendship for the Fox; the fable of the Sheep and Wolf before the Lion follows. The witnesses of the Wolf are the Crow, Fox and *Mastyn*.

the Sheep and its Lamb. It would appear from this that Bozon knew the fable as found in Odo of Sherington.

Compare Bozon :

Le lion tient sa court e vynt le berbys,
si se pleint del lou qe il out tollet son aignel;

and Odo of Sherington :

Oves conquestae sunt Leoni de Lupo,
eo quod furtive et aperte socias suas
devoravit. Leo congregavit concilium.

Thus far only does Bozon agree with Odo of Sherington. In the latter, the lion orders the Wolf to be hung, together with his witnesses. In Bozon, although not stated distinctly, the Sheep suffers the same fate as

(3) In par. 61 we find :

Columbe est de tiel nature que, etc.;—

The fable of *Fox and Dove* follows.

Compare also (same chapter):

Sicom dit Jere, le prophete par ensample
del columbe: "Seitetz," dit il," semblablez
al columbe, e pernez vostre recet en la
piere percée . . .

In line 1 and 4 of the fable we find :

Le gopil passa desouz un roche,
si garda amont e vist un columbe
seer en haut . . . (line 4) qe de
seer amont entre les freides pieres.

All the other versions of this fable have the Dove sitting in a tree, or on a perch, not, as in Bozon, among the rocks.

(4) Par. 120 concerns the nature of the pig and ass; the fable of *Ass and Pig* follows.

(5) Par. 131 speaks of the nature of the ass and colt. In the fable which follows (*Lion and Companions*) the companions of the Lion are the Goat and Colt.

(6) Par. 132 discusses the nature of the ass and sheep; the fable of Man, Son and Ass follows.

(7) Par. 142:

Grant diversetee de nature est entre
le asne e le motoun, . . . ;

the fable of *Ass' Heart* (which has as its actors the Lion, the Fox and the Ass) follows. In all other versions of this fable, except in the oldest, the Stag and not the Ass, as in Bozon, is the victim of the Lion.

It seems to me that a close examination of the examples just given will throw some new light upon the character of the work of Bozon, and will, in a great measure, explain the peculiarities which are prominent in some of his fables. However, it is not wise to depend too much on this explanation, for fables are met with throughout the text which are not affected at all by the preceding *exemplum* in regard to the choice of actors in the fable.

in the Rom. *Vulgaris* tradition and in Marie de France ; that is, it has to part with its wool. This fact shows that the fable has become disintegrated, and leads one to suspect that the Rom. *Vulgaris* and the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition have been compressed here ²⁶. Another conclusive proof of this confusion is that in Bozon the sheep is condemned, as in the Rom. *Vulgaris* and the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition, although, in Bozon, it is accused of nothing. It would seem strange that the Sheep, which came before the Lion to make complaint against the Wolf for the loss of her lamb, should be condemned. In Odo of Sherington, on the other hand, the Wolf and witnesses are condemned, not the sheep.

To explain this incongruity in the fable of Bozon ; namely, that the plaintiff (sheep) is condemned, it is necessary to suppose that he was acquainted with a version which belonged to the Rom. *Vulgaris*, or to the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition, as well as with the version in Odo of Sherington, and that he confounded the two versions. Doubtless his sermons had been preached more than once before they were written down, so that they were many opportunities for such a confusion as occurs in the fable in question to arise. It is in this way only, according to my view, that the peculiar features in the fable under discussion can be explained.

But Bozon is dependent, for the most part, upon Marie de France rather than upon the Rom. *Vulgaris* tradition for this fable.

Compare Bozon :

Quant le lou ad pris ceo qe lui *plest*,
lors vynt le gopil tot *prest*, e le corf ne
veut mye *tart*, ne le mastyn de prendre sa *part*,

and Marie de France :

Li chiens i vient, sa part en porte,
E li escufles d' altre part,
E puis li lous, trop li est tart.

(vv. 28-30.)

26. Another example of this crossing of traditions occurs in the fable of Owl and Hawk ; see p. 18.

A glance at the above is sufficient to recognize that Bozon is here imitating Marie de France. The Rom. Vulgaris simply offers:

Coacta vero ante tempus lanas suas
vendidisse dicitur, ut quod non
accepit redderet.

VIII. FOX AND DOVE.

Versions: Marie de France 61; Rom. Treverensis 51; Jacques de Vitry 20; Rom. Bernensis, Primus 32; Bozon 61.

Bozon in this fable closely resembles Marie de France in *De Vulpe et Columbe*. In all versions not connected with the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition, a substitution of some other animal for the dove is made. In the Rom. Bernensis (Primus) we find *avicula*; in the *Roman de Renart*, a titmouse, and also a bird called *masange* ²⁷; in *Ysengrimus*, a Hen; in Caxton, a Cock; in Jacques de Vitry, a *masange*. The fact that Bozon has the Dove will place him as dependent on the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition. The fable is not in Odo of Sherington.

In Bozon, as in Marie de France and the Rom. Treverensis, the Fox seeing a Dove on a perch (rock, in Bozon) begs it to come down. The use of the word rock or stones in Bozon (*les freides pieres*, l. 4), instead of perch, or tree, as in Marie de France and the Rom. Treverensis, can, I think, be explained from the *exemplum* which immediately precedes the fable. We find there:

Columbe est de tiel nature qe james ne est
seüre en ville ne en champe. . . .

Sicom dit Jere. le prophete par ensample del
columbe, "Seitetz," dit il," semblablez al
columbe, e pernez vostre recet en la pierre
percée."

By having the Dove perched among the rocks, a place of safety, the fable would, in this manner, be

27. Branch II, vv. 469-602.

brought in closer touch with the *exemplum*. This dependence of fable on *exemplum* is one of the chief characteristics of literature of the Bozon type.

In Bozon and in Marie de France the Fox tells the Dove of the universal peace that has been declared by the King of Beasts.

Bozon:

Les lettres sont venuz de la court le roy
qe touz serroms de un acord, e nul ne fra
grevance a autre desornemes;

and Marie de France:

Uns briés i vint de part le rei
Ki comanda par dreite fei
Que beste a altre ne mesface
N'a nul oisel

(vv. 13-16.)

We have, next, in Bozon a horseman who approaches with four greyhounds; in Marie de France there are two horsemen and two dogs; in the Rom. Treverensis, two men on horses with dogs.

The Fox's reason for fleeing from the dogs is the same in Bozon as in Marie de France.

Bozon:

Jeo ne sui pas certeyn qe les chienz
ont veü les lettres.

Marie de France:

Ne sai s'il unt le brief oï,
Ki vint del rei, jo vus afi.

(vv. 29-30.)

This fable throughout, in regard to its general motifs, agrees with the corresponding fable in Marie de France. Versions not dependent on Marie, except Caxton, bring in a new motif. The Fox, in order to capture the bird, begs it to close its eyes while he kisses it. This same motif is found in a fable entitled *Vulpes et Avicula* ²⁸ and also in *De Gallo et Vulpe* of the Rom. Treverensis ²⁹. There seems to be a confusion be-

28. Cf. Hervieux, Vol. II, Rom. Bernensis, (Primus) p. 311.

29. Cf. Hervieux, Vol. II, Rom. Treverensis, p. 598.

tween this fable as found in Bozon and that of the universal peace fable as found in Marie de France and her dependents. The version in Jacques de Vitry, also, is influenced by the episode in the *Roman de Renart*, as is shown by the use of the word *masange*. This confusion is not apparent in the fable of Bozon, for he has followed the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition, where the kissing motif mentioned above does not occur.

Whether Marie de France was here the direct source of Bozon can not be determined with any degree of certainty, although his fable is nearer that of Marie de France than any other version. It is at least certain that the fable belongs to the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition.

IX. RAT SEEKING WIFE.

Versions: Marie de France 73; Rom. Treverensis 116; Odo of Sherington 63 and 25 (Pseudo-Odo of Sherington, *Collectio Prima*); Rom. Bernensis, Primus 42; Bozon 75.

The oldest form of this fable known to us is found in the *Pantschatantra*³⁰. But the fable was already known in England at least as early as the end of the twelfth century, since we find it in Marie de France and in her dependents. At this time the story collections of the East had not penetrated into Western Europe, hence this fable must have come to England through folk tradition. Many changes, therefore, in the fable could easily have taken place, and it is not surprising to find that it exists in the Æsopic fable collections under two different forms.

In one form of the fable the mother of the Rat appears, while in the other form the mother is omitted and the fable makes mention only of the Rat, which, although feminine in the older versions, becomes masculine in Marie de France and in her dependents, and seeks a wife for itself. The first of these two forms exists in a Latin fable of the thirteenth century, which

30. Cf. Benfey, Bk. III, 12, p. 262.

is found, among others, in the Pseudo-Odo of Sherington (*Collectio Prima*)³¹. The second form of our fable also occurs in Odo 63. Here, as in Bozon, it is the *mus* that wishes to marry. Although the fable in Bozon belongs to this last type it differs in one point, especially from both of the versions found in Odo of Sherington. In Odo 63 the *mus* (feminine gender) desires as a husband the most powerful creature in the world, while the second form of this fable in Odo (Pseudo-Odo of Sherington, *Collectio Prima*) introduces a Mouse (masculine) that wishes to marry its daughter to some powerful creature. This motif is entirely different from that in the fable in Bozon, where it is narrated that the Rat (masculine) wished to marry the daughter of the Sun. Now, it is the versions in Marie de France and the Rom. Treverensis only that agree with Bozon in this respect. The fable in the Rom. Bernensis (Primus), although it appears to be derived from the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition, has the *mulotus*, which wishes to marry the Sun, not the daughter of the Sun.

The fact that no known version of this fable, except that of Marie de France, the Rom. Treverensis and Bozon, states that the mouse desires to marry the daughter of the Sun, is sufficient to show that Bozon has drawn this fable from the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition. He could not have taken it from the Rom. Treverensis, for here we find *mulus*³²; hence he must have been inspired by the version in Marie de France.

The fable, as it appears in Bozon, proves to be somewhat original as regards the series of the objects approached by the Rat. Odo of Sherington 63 (whose source, perhaps, is Marie de France) reduced the series of this author, while Bozon has enlarged it. In Bozon are mentioned sun, cloud, wind, rain, barn and mouse. The series in Bozon is as logical as that in Marie de

31. The date of this collection is probably the middle of the fourteenth century. See Hervieux, Vol. IV, p. 154, and Herlet, p. 44.

32. Cf. Mall, op. cit., p. 185 and G. Paris, Rom. XV (1886), p. 629.

France, and when one considers the liberty that Bozon frequently takes in regard to his fables, it is not surprising that we find the series with him increased. As M. Meyer ³³ explains this series the rain lowers the wind and the barn prevents the rain from penetrating. Bozon probably considered the barn as a more fitting place than a wall or tower for rats to inhabit.

It does not appear that Bozon knew either of the two versions found in Odo of Sherington; for while with one version (Ixiii) the objects approached by the Mouse are reduced to wind, castle and mouse, with the other version (Pseudo-Odo of Sherington, *Collectio Prima*, xxv) three new motifs enter: the Mouse first approaches the Moon, the Castle replies that the Domina is more powerful, a Cat kills the Mouse. Whether Odo of Sherington got his fable from Alfred of England or from Marie de France is not to be discussed here, but it is evident from what has preceded that Bozon did not draw his fable from Odo of Sherington.

This fable does not occur in the Rom. *Vulgaris* nor in its dependents. It is found in Hervieux II but twice; namely, in the Rom. *Treverensis* collection and in the Rom. *Bernensis* (Primus). It has been pointed out above ³⁴ that Bozon differs in two or more important motifs from the Rom. *Treverensis* and the Rom. *Bernensis* (Primus), but that with Marie de France the agreement is complete, with the exception of the increase of the series of the visits, which, I think, has been sufficiently accounted for.

X. SUN SEEKING WIFE.

Versions: Rom. *Vulgaris* I, 7; Rom. *Nilantii* I, 8; Marie de France 6; Rom. *Treverensis* 8; Jacques de Vitry 142; Bozon 91.

This is a variation of the fable *Ranae ad Solem* of Phaedrus ³⁵; it has been widely circulated and conse-

33. Cf. *C. M. de Bozon*, p. 259, note 75.

34. Cf. page 41.

35. Cf. Havet, fable 7, p. 8; Hervieux, Vol. II, fable VI, p. 8.

quently has undergone much change. The form which we have here seems to be more closely connected with fable 6 of Marie de France than with any other known version. Bozon, however, offers some peculiarities on account of which the connection between the two fables is not so clear. Below, each principal motif is taken up and discussed in regard to its relation to other versions to which Bozon might have been indebted for this fable.

a. In Bozon the Sun summoned the *creatures* (?) ³⁶ to its court and asked for a rich wife. In Marie de France the Sun desired the aid of the *creatures* in the selection of a wife. The Rom. Treverensis: the Sun wished to marry; the report went through the world and frightened the *creatures*. Rom. Vilantii (and also throughout the Rom. Vulgaris tradition): robbers attend a wedding feast; an old man tells a story of the Sun wishing to marry.

From the indications given above it is seen that Bozon and Marie de France stand out alone in one respect against the Rom. Nilantii and the whole Rom. Vulgaris tradition; that is, in the motif of the Sun asking the advice of the *creatures* in the selection of a wife. It should be noted that the Rom. Treverensis has many points here in common with the Rom. Vulgaris.

In Marie de France and in Bozon only, the Sun appeals to the creatures. Compare Bozon:

Le soleil fist jadis somondre a sa court
(les creatures ?) ; si les pria qe ils purveissent
de un riche dame a sa femme ;

and Marie de France:

Que le soleiz volt femme prendre,
A tute creature dist
Que chescune se purveist.
(vv. 2-4.)

b. Compare Bozon:

Les autres alerent a Destinee a lui
prierent de conseil ;

and Marie de France:

Les creatures s' asemblerent ;
A la destinee en alerent,
Si li mustrerent del soleil
Que de femme requiert conseil.
(vv. 5-8.)

36. The text reads : *Le soleil fist jadis somondre a sa court* .
. . . ., (here the copyist has omitted some words).

In the Rom. Nilantii the people raise a clamor and Jupiter demands the cause of it. In the Rom. Treverensis the people ask Jupiter how to avert such a calamity as would arise from the marriage of the Sun. Bozon and Marie de France agree, therefore, in that the *creatures* go to Destiny for counsel, while the Rom. Treverensis and the Rom. Nilantii substitute Jupiter.

c. The primary reason in Bozon and in Marie de France why the *creatures* go to Destiny, is in order to get counsel in regard to the marriage of the Sun. This motif does not occur in the other fable collections mentioned above ³⁷. Here, again, it is seen that Bozon does not follow the Rom. Vulgaris tradition or the Rom. Treverensis.

d. In all the versions of this fable, that I have examined ³⁸, with the exception of the version in Bozon, the people (*creatures* in Marie de France) fear to have the Sun marry. In Bozon, Destiny tells the *creatures* (?) ³⁹ of their folly in wishing the Sun to marry. Whether this last trait is original with Bozon, or whether he has borrowed it from some version with which I am not acquainted, cannot be decided. It may be that this fable was not very clear in the mind of our author.

The reason given in Marie de France for the Sun not marrying, differs in part from Bozon. In Marie, the *creatures* fear that the earth would become so hot and dry that nothing would grow; in Bozon, Destiny says if the Sun be reinforced, all the *creatures* would burn up. But compare this with Marie de France:

Nule riens nel purra suffrir,
Desuz lui vivre ne guarir.
(vv. 19-20.)

This fable, though the point has in this instance been less conclusively shown than in the case of the preceding fables, is to be classed as coming from Marie de France.

37. Cf. page 42.

38. Cf. list of fable collections consulted, see Bibliography.

39. As a word, or words, are lacking in the text, I have supplied *creatures* (as in Marie de France).

XI. MAN AND TREES.

Versions: Rom. Vulgaris, III, 14; Rom. Nilantii, II, 16; Marie de France 49; Rom. Treverensis 32; Bozon 94; John of Sheppey 66.

This was a very popular fable in the Middle Ages and is found throughout the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition, as well as in the Rom. Vulgaris and its dependents. The general motifs of the several versions and their relation to one another will be seen below.

a. In Bozon it is a *fevre* who makes an axe; also Marie de France has *fevre* and the Rom. Treverensis, *faber*. The Rom. Vulgaris, the Rom. Nilantii and John of Sheppey simply have *homo*.

b. In Bozon, and also in John of Sheppey, the *fevre* (in John of Sheppey *homo*) begs of the tree a handle. In the Rom. Nilantii, Marie de France and the Rom. Treverensis, together with the Rom. Vulgaris, the *fevre* (or *homo*) asks the trees what kind of wood is best for an axe-handle.

c. In Bozon, all the trees refuse to furnish a handle for the axe, but at last the *aubespine* offers itself for this purpose. In John of Sheppey the trees consent to furnish the handle, but no particular tree is mentioned. In Marie de France a new motif appears. After consultation the trees tell the *fevre* to take the *neire espine*. In the Rom. Treverensis there is no consultation; the *ornus* (wild ash) gives the handle to the smith. In the Rom. Nilantii the trees command the olive to furnish the handle; in the Rom. Vulgaris, the wild olive (*oleastrum*) is chosen by the other trees.

There appears to be no general agreement in this motif among the versions mentioned above, except that in Marie de France and in Bozon the thorn is procured by the smith for the handle of the axe.

d. Bozon: The smith attacks the hawthorn and cuts it down;

Marie de France: The smith cuts down the thorn (*l'espine*);

Rom. Treverensis: The smith first cuts down the alder and then all the trees.

The Rom. Vulgaris, the Rom. Nilantii and John of Sheppey agree in that the smith cuts down all trees.

e. In Bozòn the thorn reproaches the axe. In Marie de France there is no dialogue between the smith (or the axe) and the tree. In all the other Latin versions mentioned above the fable ends with :

Quercus ad fractinum, etc.

It will be observed that there are several motifs here which are common to Marie de France and Bozon, but which are not found in other versions.

(1) Compare Bozon :

Un fievre fesayt un foiz un hasche
bien trenchant ; et pur ceo il no out
poynt manche prest, vynt al boys ;

Marie de France :

Uns fevre fist une cuigniee
Dure e trenchant e bien forgiee ;
Mes ne s' en pot niënt aidier
Ne od li ne pot rien trenchier,
De ci qu' ele fust enmanchiee.
E d' alcun fust apareilliee.
Al bois ala

(vv. 1-7.)

As noted above (*a*) the Rom. Vulgaris and the Rom. Nilantii tradition substitute *homo* for *fevre*.

The motif in Bozon "all the trees refused, but at last the *aubespine* offered itself," is peculiar to our author, although in the Rom. Treverensis the wild ash offers itself. In all other versions of this fable, except in John of Sheppey, where the trees willingly offer themselves, the trees consult and select one of their number to furnish the handle. We must consider this motif as original with Bozon, just as in the Rom. Treverensis the motif of the wild ash offering itself to the smith appears to be original with that collection. Bozon, no doubt, recounted the fables in his sermons many times before they were written down, hence many cases of divergences from the original text might naturally arise.

(2) In Bozon and Marie de France, only, the smith gets his handle from the thorn (in Bozon, *aubespine*; in Marie de France, *espine neire*).

(3) In Bozon and Marie de France the smith cuts down the thorn only. In all the other versions mentioned above ⁴⁰, he begins to cut down all the trees.

(4) In all the versions of this fable, except that of Bozon and Marie de France, the fable ends with:

Quercus ad Fraxino, etc.

(5) In Bozon the *aubespine* reproaches the axe:

De moy receüstez vostre honur, e
ore me fetez tiel deshonor !

Compare this with Marie de France :

Mal gueredun li a rendu,
Que de li ot sun mancheeü

(vv. 23-24.)

It has been shown from what precedes that the fable under discussion in Bozon bears no resemblance to the various versions belonging to the Rom. Vulgaris tradition. From the number and agreement of motifs which are common to Bozon and Marie de France alone, it is plain that our author is indebted to Marie for this fable.

XII. LION AND MOUSE.

Versions: Rom. Vulgaris I, 17; Rom. Nilantii I, 17; Marie de France 16; Rom. Treverensis 17; Jacques de Vitry 145; Spec. Doct. II, 116; Bozon 129.

For this fable there are two important motifs that Bozon has in common with the Rom. Nilantii and Marie de France, but which do not occur in any of the other familiar fable collections of the Middle Ages.

In the first place, in Bozon as in Marie de France and the Rom. Nilantii, the mouse with the aid of its companions frees the lion. All the other versions of this fable that I have examined ⁴¹ have a single mouse as the deliverer of the lion.

40. Cf. page 45.

41. Cf. list of fable collections consulted, see Bibliography.

We come now to the second motif which is common with Bozon, Marie de France and the Rom. Nilantii, but which does not appear in the Rom. Vulgaris, in Jacques de Vitry or in the Speculum Doctrinale.

Bozon says :

Et assemble ses compaignons, e
rongerent les cordez de la reye dont
la fosse fust covert, a lui enseignerent
coment deveit romper la corde e eschaper

Compare this with Marie de France :

Gratez la terre e vostre pié
Tant qu' afermer vus i puissiez.
E puis a munt bien vus sachiez,
Que si purrez ça hors eissir.
E jeo ferai od mei venir
Altres suriz pur mei aidier
As cordes, ki ci sunt, trenchier.

(vv. 32-38.)

Compare also the Rom. Treverensis :

Terram ungulis tuis effossam in
cumulum trahes, et de cumulo
saliendo lacum superare poteris.

With the Rom. Vulgaris, Jacques de Vitry and the Speculum Doctrinale, the Mouse alone gnaws the net. No mention is made of instructing the Lion how to act.

These facts show conclusively, I think, that Bozon has drawn this fable from the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition and not from the Rom. Vulgaris, or its dependents. Now, as it appears to be reasonably certain that Bozon did not know the Rom. Nilantii or the Rom. Treverensis ⁴², he most probably drew it from the collection of Marie de France. The fable is not in Odo of Sherington or in John of Sheppey.

42. Cf. pages 30, 31.

XIII. MAN AND OXEN.

Versions: Marie de France 84; Rom. Treverensis 63; Rom. Roberti 18; Bozon 130.

Here Bozon must have followed the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition; the fable is not in the Rom. Vulgaris or in Odo of Sherington, but it is found in Marie de France, the Rom. Treverensis and the Rom. Roberti. Here again Marie de France seems to be the source of Bozon, since our fable resembles more closely her version than that found in the Rom. Treverensis or in the Rom. Roberti.

In the Rom. Treverensis the *rusticus* uses a goad on the oxen and loads them heavily, so that they complain. In Bozon and Marie de France no mention is made of harsh treatment, but it is the vile work of which the oxen complain. This last motif is not brought out in the Rom. Roberti.

On comparing the following passages it will be seen that Bozon follows Marie de France very closely.

Bozon:

Malment allowez le payn e la cerveyse
qe avez par nostre travailles, quant
de tiel travaille nous avez encombrée.

Marie:

Li buef par tençun l' assailirent,
Si repruverent al vilein.
La bone cerveyse e le pain,
Que par lur travail ot eü;
Mes malement lur a rendu:
Qu' a grant hunte les demena.
(vv. 4-9.)

Bozon must have taken this directly from Marie de France. The phrase in Bozon:

Malment allowez le payn e la cerveyse
qe avez par nostre travailles,

shows an unmistakable relationship with Marie's

Si repruverent al vilein
La bone cerveyse e le pein
Que par lur travail ot eü.
(vv. 5-7.)

Bozon :

Par qui fust la meison de fienz emplé ?

resembles the Rom. Treverensis :

Interrogo te quis istum fumum congessit ?

but compare also Marie de France :

. Vus le femastes

E la maison en encumbrastes.

(vv. 13-14.)

Notice that in the Rom. Treverensis there is but one ox, while in Bozon, Marie de France and the Rom. Roberti two oxen are mentioned. Finally compare Bozon :

Ne est ceo donq reison qe vous la deliverez ?

and Marie de France :

Si lur respunt que hors le traient

Bien est dreiz que la peine en aient.

(vv. 17-18.)

Outside of the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition this fable is rarely found. There is a version in the *Dyalogus Creaturarum*⁴³, but it has nothing in common with Bozon. Certain passages in Bozon and Marie de France agree so closely, as shown above, that hardly any doubt can exist as to the one being directly dependent on the other.

XIV. LION AND COMPANIONS.

Versions: Rom. Vulgaris I, 6 ; Rom. Nilantii I, 6 ; Marie de France 11 ; Rom. Treverensis 6 ; Jacques de Vitry 156 ; Bozon 131 ; John of Sheppey 4.

This fable exists in two different forms. In the Rom. Nilantii are found two fables closely resembling each other, the one entitled : ‘ *De Leone Bubalo et Lupo Venatum pergentibus.* ’ and the other (which immediately follows the first) : ‘ *Vacca, Capra et Ove, que Leont se sociaverunt.* ’ In the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition these two fables also appear, occupying the same relative position as in the Rom. Nilantii.

43. Cf. Nicolaus Pergamenus, *Dyalogus Creaturarum*, Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, Vol. 148.

The companions of the Lion in Bozon; namely, the *chievre* and the *poleyne* are peculiar to our author, and indeed, their appearance here is in itself strange. But the use of *poleyne* may be explained, perhaps, by the fact that the *exemplum* treats of the nature of the Ass and its Colt, while in the second part of this double fable in Marie de France the Goat is one of the companions of the Lion. Bozon again offers us here a peculiar feature in that the prize is a *veel* (calf) and not a Stag, as is found in Marie de France and in the majority of the other versions. It is, therefore, not probable that Bozon knew a version of this fable in which these unusual animals occur, for the Colt and the Calf are not characters commonly appearing in fable literature. Such substitutions and divergences as we find them in Bozon and other writers, must frequently have had their origin in the desire of some author to make innovations and thus to distinguish himself from his predecessors. In other cases he was probably endeavoring to better adapt the fable to the understanding of his readers. This is the reason that motifs not authorized by tradition, or even without any resemblance at all to the original, have been inserted in fables of the Bozon type.

Bozon probably knew both forms of the fable (that is, No. 1 and No. 2 above) ⁴⁴, since we find in his fable motifs which belong to the first as well as to the second part. In fable No. 1 of the Rom. Nilantii (fable 6), which corresponds to the first part of the fable in Marie de France, the prize is divided into three parts, while in the second part of the fable (fable 8), as also in Marie de France (second part of the fable), the Rom. Vulgaris, the Rom. Treverensis (fable 7) and John of Sheppey (fable 4) the division is made into four parts. Bozon in this respect follows fable No. 1. There is here a close resemblance with Marie de France.

44. Cf. page 50.

Compare Bozon :

A moi apent le tierz partie par
reison de seignurie.

and Marie de France :

Li leüns a dit e juré.

Que la premiere part arreit
Pur ceo qu' ert reis e dreiz esteit.

(vv. 15-18.)

In regard to the second division of the prize by the Lion, another peculiarity in the fable of Bozon is to be noted, which, so far as I know, is found nowhere else except in fable No. 2 of the Rom. Nilantii (*Vacca Capra et Ove*). Here we find "*Leo cervum prostravit*." It is only in Bozon and the Rom. Nilantii that the Lion alone captures the prize. This motif is, naturally, introduced in the division of the same. So Bozon :

L' autre partie a moy apent par ceo qe
jeo le pris.

The Rom. Nilantii has simply :

Tertiam mihi defendo, eo quod plus
omnibus cucurri.

which is the same as in Marie de France.

But Bozon has not taken this motif directly from the Rom. Nilantii No. 2, because here four divisions of the booty are made, while in his fable there are but three divisions. For the same reason he has not drawn his fable either from the Rom. Vulgaris tradition or from John of Sheppey No. 1, where also the booty is divided into four parts.

In Bozon, the reason which the Lion gives for taking unto himself the third part, agrees with the second part of the fable in Marie de France, where four divisions of the booty are made :

Compare Bozon :

Ore covient entre nous combatre pur la
tierce partie ;

and Marie de France :

La quatre ai jeo si divisee
Que nuls ne l' avra senz meslee.

(vv. 37-38.)

Bozon here follows without doubt Marie, for in all the other versions of this fable the motif of fighting for the third (or fourth part) does not appear. In the other versions, both in No. 1 and No. 2, the Lion warns its companions that if they touch the third (or fourth) part they will incur his displeasure. This motif occurs in the second part of the fable of Marie de France, where four divisions of the booty are made, but as mentioned above ⁴⁵ Bozon was evidently acquainted with both parts, so it is not surprising to meet in his fable a motif belonging to fable No. 2, although for the rest he follows No. 1.

In the version as found in Jacques de Vitry, the companions of the Lion (*Ove, Capra et Jumenta*) seizes a Stag, just as is represented in Marie de France. The booty is divided into three parts. This motif is found elsewhere only in Marie de France (and in the versions dependent on Marie) and in Bozon. For the rest of the fable, the version in Jacques de Vitry agrees throughout very closely with the first part of the fable of Marie de France, but there is one point which proves that Bozon did not draw his fable from this collection. In regard to the third division the Lion in Jacques de Vitry say:

Terciam si quis acceperit sciat quod
amicus non erit meus.

As stated above ⁴⁶ Bozon and Marie de France alone agree in that the Lion says that whoever touches the third part will have to fight him.

It should be noted that the episode of the Lion's share in the *Roman de Renart* ⁴⁷ bears no resemblance to our fable. Here the Lion asks first the Wolf and, then, the Fox, to divide the spoil. This episode is taken from the Æsopic fable of the Lion hunting with the Ass and the Fox ⁴⁸ and not from that of the Lion

45. Cf. page 51.

46. Cf. page 52.

47. Cf. Branch XVI, vv. 721-1504.

48. Cf. Hahn, CCLX.

and Ass ⁴⁹, from which the fable in Bozon is derived, although the two fables are no doubt, originally, the development of the same theme. The two versions in Odo of Sherington [XX and XXIX, (Pseudo-Odo of Sherington) [Collectio Tertia] and John of Sheppey (V) resemble the episode in the *Roman de Renart*.

In this fable Bozon offers only a short abridgment of the longer fable as it occurs in other fable collections. Hence, a comparison with other texts can be made only in regard to the chief motifs of the fable. It has been shown above that of all the versions it is with Marie de France that Bozon agrees throughout, except that the Lion himself in Bozon seizes the prize. This fable, therefore, should be placed as dependent on Marie de France.

XV. ASS' HEART.

Versions: Babrius 95; Avianus 30; Marie de France 70; Rom. Treverensis 61; Kirchhof 84; Bozon 142.

This fable is of Indian origin ⁵⁰. In the Indian version as represented by Baldo ⁵¹, Kirchhof and Johannes de Capua ⁵², the story is told, as in Bozon, of an Ass, which, when killed, was found to have no heart; while in Babrius, Marie de France, the Rom. Treverensis, and also in the versions found in the chronicles of Fredegarius ⁵³ and Aimoinus ⁵⁴, it is the heart of the Stag that the Lion demands ⁵⁵.

There is also another version of the fable, which belongs to the Middle Ages, concerning a Boar which was found to have no heart. The circumstances here, however, are very different from the earlier version, having nothing in common with our fable. The later version seems to have been a popular story ⁵⁶.

49. Cf. Hahn, CCLVIII; Babrius, fable LXVII.

50. Cf. Benfey, *Pantschatantra* Bk. I, IV, 2, p. 295.

51. Cf. Du Ménil, *Poésies Inédites du moyen âge*, Baldo p. 233.

52. Cf. Hervieux, Vol. V, ch. VI, fol. K².

53. Cf. Hervieux, Vol. III, p. 502.

54. Cf. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 503.

55. This form of the fable also occurs in the manuscript of the *Bibliothèque de Rheims* (cf. Hervieux, Vol. III, p. 508), and in a version published by Hervieux, Vol. III, p. 507.

56. Cf. Avianus 30, and the *Gesta Romanorum*, ch. 83.

The various versions of this fable may be most conveniently divided into three groups:

(1) The Oriental Group, with the Ass as the victim.

(2) The Classical Group, where the Stag is slain.

(3) The Mediaeval Group, where it is the question of a Boar without a heart ⁵⁷.

Another grouping may be made of the versions of this fable as represented by the fabulists mentioned above. Bozon, Marie de France, the Rom. Treverensis, Philip of Navarre in his *Gestes des Chiprois* (mentioned by M. Meyer ⁵⁸), the Rheims manuscript and also the Greek tradition agree in the fact that the Lion is sick, and needs, in order to be cured, the heart of the Stag (Bozon, heart of the Ass). In Baldo, Fredegarius and Aimoinus, on the other hand, the Lion is not sick, but demands the death of the Stag because it did not appear at court ⁵⁹. If Bozon, in respect to this last motif, agrees with the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition, why is it that we find with him the Ass, as in the oldest version, and not the Stag, which is made the victim of the Lion?

There are several ways in which Bozon could have become acquainted with the version as found in the *Pantschatantra*. He may have known, for example, the work of Johannes de Capua and analagous fable compilations, or he may have become acquainted with the fable through oral tradition. The mere fact, however, that one of the actors of the fable agrees with the older versions, rather than with the later ones, is not sufficient proof to cause it to be placed in the Oriental Group. The whole trend of the fable as found in Bozon agrees

57. This group is called Mediaeval as a convenient contrast, although the earliest version occurs in Avianus. Cf. *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. VII (1894), pp. 264-267, George C. Keidel, 'Die Eselherz—(Hirschherz—, Eberherz—) Fabel.'

58. Cf. *C. M. de Bozon*, p. 294, note 142.

59. This motif also occurs in a version printed by Hervieux, Vol. III, p. 507. In Johannes de Capua the Lion desired the heart and ears of the Ass; no mention is made of the Lion summoning the animals to court.

closely with the Classical Group, to which the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition most certainly belongs.

It is possible, however, that Bozon may have known an oral tradition of this fable in which the Ass is the victim, as in the Indian version, though agreeing for the rest of the fable with the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition. But, if such was the case, no similar version is known to-day; therefore, an explanation based on the probability of Bozon being acquainted with a version of this fable in which the Ass is substituted for the Stag should not be received too readily. M. Meyer believes⁶⁰ that because Bozon introduced this example in a chapter where it is a question of the nature of the Ass, he must have known a version in which the Ass was substituted for the Stag. It would seem to me, however—since we know of no version outside of Bozon where the Ass is substituted for the Stag—more logical to suppose that, for this very reason; namely, that Bozon introduced this example in a chapter where it is a question of the nature of the Ass, this substitution was made so as to bring the fable into closer agreement with the preceding *exemplum* on which the fable depends. Examples of a similar kind will be found throughout the *Contes* of Bozon, and need cause no surprise⁶¹.

Bozon, in common with other writers of his class, proceeded generally in the following manner: He introduced the "property" of an animal, a plant or a rock, and draws therefrom a moral, which, furthermore, the author confirms by the recital of some suitable fable, tale or anecdote. But the order adopted by Bozon is different from that of the other similar collections, where the fables are the principal subject; with Bozon, however, it is the philosophic theme which occupies the first rank, and the fable or anecdote instead of preceding follows the *exemplum*. The fable, although important, is only an accessory to the *exemplum*. It is not surprising, then, that Bozon, wherever he deemed it

60. Cf. *C. M. de Bozon*, p. 294.

61. Cf. fable of Fox and Pigeon, p. 34, note.

fitting, should make some slight changes in the body of the fable; such, for example, as the substitution of a different actor in the fable, or the addition of some new motif.

That preachers, in making use of fables and apologues, allowed themselves such a license as the changing at will of the actors of the fable, we have abundant proof. The celebrated editor of Bozon's *Contes Moralisés* makes an interesting study of a collection of *exempla* composed between 1275 and 1279 by an Englishman who belonged to the Franciscan order of monks ⁶². According to M. Meyer, the author in more than one place carefully points out how certain *exempla* ought to be modified according to the audience addressed, and, as an illustration, the writer gives an example of two versions of the story, very different in circumstances, which has as its base the legend of Jean Ganebert. This fact, I think, will explain in a great measure the peculiarities which appear in some of the fables of Bozon. It may be noted, however, that the *exemplum* in par. 23 ⁶³ may also have influenced Bozon, where the Lion is represented as having great hatred toward the Ass because it greatly desires to eat the flesh of the latter.

As has been said ⁶⁴, the fable in Bozon does not agree, except in title, with the oldest versions; that is, with the Oriental Group, but rather with the Classical Group. Moreover, a comparison of the fable of our author with the version of Marie de France will show how closely the former has followed the latter in this fable.

a. Bozon agrees with Marie de France (and the Rom. Treverensis) in the fact that the Lion is sick, and that the beasts assemble in order to advise him in regard to his disease. In Baldo, Fredegarius, Aimoinus and others still ⁶⁵, the motif of the Lion being sick does not enter.

62. Cf. *Romania*, Vol. XXI (1892), p. 303: *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, XXXIV, P. Meyer.

63. Cf. *C. M. de Bozon*, par. 23, p. 37.

64. Cf. page 55.

65. Cf. note 59, page 55.

b. In Bozon and in Marie de France (and also in the Rom. Treverensis, which naturally agrees with Marie) the animals advise the Lion to eat the heart of a Stag (in Bozon, Ass). This is directly opposed to the other versions mentioned above, where the life of the Stag is demanded because the Stag alone of all the beasts did not appear at court.

c. In Marie de France and in Bozon the victim is present, but while the Stag in Marie escapes, the Ass in Bozon begs to be allowed to go home to make its will ⁶⁶.

d. Instead of being summoned three times to court, as is the Stag in Marie de France, the Ass in Bozon is beguiled to the court by the Fox. This same motif occurs in the chronicles of Fredegarius, of Aimoinus and of Fromundus ⁶⁷. In all the other versions mentioned above, the Stag (or Ass) returns after the third summons.

The fable of Stag without a heart was a very popular story, and it is possible that Bozon knew it as it existed in the chronicles just mentioned, but that he knew it only through oral tradition is still more likely; at any rate, he could not have drawn his fable from these sources, for here, as noted before, the Lion is not sick (as in Bozon), but he demands the death of the Stag because it did not appear at court. It would seem that the motif of sending the Fox for the Stag (or Ass) has been added by later writers in order to explain more clearly the return of this animal.

There is a fable, however, in Odo of Sherington (Pseudo-Odo of Sherington, *Collectio Prima*) VII entitled, *De Asino nolente venire ad Parliamentum Leonis*, in which the same motif occurs. The Lion summons the animals in general assembly; when they had assembled he asked if there were not some absent. It was found that the Ass was not present. The Lion

66. Cf. page 33, note 22.

67. In Fromundus we have the Bear instead of the Lion who summons the Stag. Cf. Hervieux, Vol. III, p. 505.

immediately sends the Wolf and the Fox to seek the Ass and bring him by force, if necessary, to the court. The remainder of the fable bears no resemblance to Bozon, but has a likeness to the well-known fable in the Romulus tradition ⁶⁸, where the Horse asks the Lion to examine his hoof and then kills the Lion with a kick. Bozon may have known this fable and been influenced by it for this motif; or he may have been influenced by the episode in the *Roman de Renart*, where the Fox is summoned to the court of the Lion, and on his non-appearance the Bear and the Cat are sent to conduct him thither.

e. Compare Bozon:

Tost fust le asne tuee e deschorchee
overet et defet. Et en defasaunt le
gopil embla le queor e privement le mangea;

and Marie de France:

Einz qu' il fust bien parescorchiez,
S' est li gupiz tant aprismiez
Qu' il lur aveit le quer embleé,
Si l' a mangié e devoré.

(vv. 19-22.)

f. The reason given by the Fox as to why the Stag (Ass, in Bozon) has no heart is the same for Bozon and Marie de France.

Compare Bozon:

Remembraunce viënt hors de queor, e
il out perdu remembraunce de son
peril quant autre foiz retorna a sa mort.

and Marie de France:

Saciez qu' il u' aveit point de quer;
Car il n' i venist a nul fuer.
Senz quer fu e senz remembrance:
Pur ceo revint par ubliance.

(vv. 59-62.)

g. Bozon:

“Bien avet dit,” fet le leoun. “Retornez
sanz chalange (a meson).”

68. Cf. Hervieux, Vol. II, pp. 214, 256, 336, 360, 405, 435, 470, 493, 532, etc.

Marie de France:

Li liuns respunt que veir dist:
S' il eüst quer, ja n' i venist.
Bien devum le gupil laissier,
Que seins s'en puisse repairier.

(vv. 67-70.)

To sum up, then, the motifs of this fable that are common to Bozon and Marie de France:

(1) The Lion is sick; in all other versions (except the Rom. Treverensis and the Rheims manuscript) that have been examined, this motif does not enter.

(2) The heart of the Stag (or Ass) is to cure the Lion.

(3) The victim is present only in Bozon, Marie de France and the Rom. Treverensis. The Ass, in Bozon, not being so swift as the Stag, could not escape so easily. Bozon, therefore, represents the Ass as going home to make his will ⁶⁹. The motif that the Fox is sent for the Ass may be original with Bozon. But, perhaps, as already noted ⁷⁰, he may have known one of the popular versions of the fable as found in the chronicles of Fredegarius or Aimoinus.

(4) A comparison of the phraseology of the two texts (Bozon and Marie de France) shows great similarity.

This fable is not in the collection of Odo of Sherington. It occurs but once in Hervieux, Vol. II; namely, in the Rom. Treverensis. There can be no doubt but that Bozon is here dependent on the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition, and not on the Oriental versions of the fable. That he has followed Marie de France is, I think, evident.

In the discussion of the particular fables already mentioned ⁷¹, the resemblance between Bozon and Marie de France in each of the fables examined has been clearly shown, although this resemblance has naturally been more evident for certain fables than for

69. Cf. page 58, note 66.

70. Cf. page 55.

71. Cf. page 54, *Versions*.

others. The next question to be discussed is, whether for these particular fables Bozon is directly dependent on Marie de France, or whether he was acquainted with a collection of fables, now lost, closely allied to Marie's fables, but which had been somewhat modified, either by influence of other fable collections upon the author, or by reason of the author's own individuality.

M. Meyer, as noted in the Introduction ⁷², has concluded that Bozon must have known a collection of fables, written either in English or in French, and which had in part the same source as those of Marie de France. Of the thirty-seven ⁷³ Æsopic fables which the distinguished editor of the *Contes Moralisés* notes as being contained in the *Contes* of Bozon, the following fables are pointed out by him as those which more closely resemble the corresponding versions in Marie de France:

- Bozon 47, Monkey and Child (Marie 51);
- Bozon 61, Fox and Dove (Marie 61);
- Bozon 75, Rat seeking Wife (Marie 73);
- Bozon 91, Sun wishing to Marry (Marie 6);
- Bozon 94, Man and Trees (Marie 49);
- Bozon 130, Man and Oxen (Marie 84);
- Bozon 142, Ass' Heart (Marie 70).

For these seven fables, M. Meyer, in his commentary to the *Contes*, has pointed out the resemblance between Bozon and Marie de France, but he states ⁷⁴ that the resemblance is not complete enough to justify the conclusion that Bozon borrowed them directly from Marie. This hypothesis, he thinks, can be admitted only for the fable of *Man and Oxen* (Bozon 130). For the other six fables it is necessary to suppose that Bozon desired to modify the original text. The editor, however, does not believe that Bozon did so alter his

72. *Introduction*, p. 8.

73. This number may be increased by two fables. The titles of these fables, (not given in the list on page XVII) (*C. M. de Bozon*), are as follows: par. 4, *Lion as Judge*; par. 42, *Wolf and Hedgehog*. These two fables, however, are noted in the commentary to the Bozon text.

74. Cf. *C. M. de Bozon*, p. XIX.

text, since the details of the fable must have been to him only of secondary importance; nor does he believe that the modifications found in Bozon are due to an imperfect memory on his part.

Herlet ⁷⁵ holds that sufficient attention has not been given to the connection between the fables of Bozon and those of Marie de France. In addition to the fables of Bozon noted by M. Meyer as being dependent on Marie's fables, Herlet adds the following:

Bozon 18, Peacock and Juno (Marie 31);

Bozon 23, Lion as King (Marie 29);

Bozon 42, Wolf and Hedgehog (Marie 71);

Bozon 50, Cat as Bishop (Marie 101);

Bozon 55, Sheep and Wolf before Lion (Marie 4).

Herlet is convinced that Marie de France is one of the chief sources of Bozon's fables. If the agreement between these two authors is at times only imperfect, this fact should not hinder one from acknowledging it, since it was characteristic of Bozon not to follow strictly his original.

After a careful study of the fables of Bozon, I have come to the conclusion that three other fables can be added to the list of fables that Messrs. Meyer and Herlet have already given as dependent on Marie de France. They are:

Bozon 17, Owl and Hawk (Marie 17) ⁷⁶;

Bozon 129, Lion and Mouse (Marie 16) ⁷⁷;

Bozon 131, Lion and Companions (Marie 11) ⁷⁸.

These fables, I believe, can be reckoned as dependent on Marie de France with as much certainty as those already noted by M. Meyer and Herlet.

In the discussion of the fables treated in this section ⁷⁹, attention has frequently been called to the fact that if certain fables of Bozon, in part at least, do not show a close resemblance with Marie, they possess,

75. Cf. Introduction, p. 8.

76. Cf. page 17.

77. Cf. page 47.

78. Cf. page 50.

79. Cf. page 17.

however, certain motifs which prove that they belong to the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition, as differentiated from the Rom. Vulgaris tradition. It would at first glance seem probable, then, that Bozon might have had recourse for some of his fables to collections outside of Marie which belonged to the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition; such as, the Rom. Treverensis, the Rom. Roberti, or even perhaps, the Rom. Nilantii.

A comparison of the fables of Bozon with the corresponding fables in the Rom. Treverensis, however, will show that Bozon was not acquainted with this collection, although there is naturally a great similarity between it and certain fables of Marie de France, and also those of Bozon. The following examples of non-agreement between Bozon and the Rom. Treverensis have already been noted:

(1) Bozon 42, *Wolf and Hedgehog* (Rom. Treverensis 62): In the Rom. Treverensis the fable is more expanded than in either Marie de France or Bozon. Bozon here closely follows Marie.

(2) Bozon 47, *Monkey and Child* (Rom. Treverensis 41): The Monkey in Bozon and in Marie has but one child; in the Rom. Treverensis two children are mentioned.

(3) Bozon 75, *Rat seeking Wife* (Rom. Treverensis 116): Bozon has *rat*; Marie *mulez* or *suriz*; the Rom. Treverensis has *mulus*.

(4) Bozon 130, *Man and Oxen* (Rom. Treverensis 63): In the Rom. Treverensis, the *rusticus* uses a goad on the oxen and loads them heavily, so that they complain. Bozon and Marie agree in that no mention is made of harsh treatment by the Man, but it is the vile work of which the oxen complain. This last motif is not brought out in the Rom. Roberti.

In addition to the above examples other suggestions might be made which go to prove the improbability of Bozon's acquaintance with a Rom. Treverensis manuscript. For example:

(1) As most manuscripts were both rare and expensive in the Middle Ages, and as Bozon himself was

but a poor Franciscan monk, it is probable that he possessed only a few works of his own. Since he evidently made frequent use of a French fable collection in his sermons (that is, the collection of Marie de France), it is likely that he had before him a manuscript volume containing various French works, among which was a fable collection. It is certain also that he was acquainted with the fables of Odo of Sherington, both in his regular collection and in his *Parabolae*, where they occur sporadically. These two works of Odo were probably contained in separate manuscripts, including a variety of Latin treatises ⁸⁰. As Bozon does not *frequently* take his fables from any other Latin author, it is probable that no other manuscript containing a Latin fable collection was known to him.

(2) Just as Alfred translated the Anglo-Latin *Romulus* in English for the lay folk, so Marie de France translated Alfred's collection for the French-speaking people of England. Bozon, in writing for the common folk, would naturally prefer fables related in a vulgar tongue to those given in a Latin version.

(3) It must have been noticed in the discussion of the fables of this group ⁸¹ that no fable is found in both Bozon and in the *Rom. Treverensis* that does not also occur in Marie de France. If Bozon had drawn at random from the *Rom. Treverensis*, in all probability he would have selected a few fables among the many which are not in Marie.

(4) The greater number of the *Rom. Treverensis* manuscripts ⁸² are at the present time preserved in

80. Cf. Hervieux's descriptions of the extant manuscripts of the fables of Odo of Sherington, Hervieux, Vol. IV, p. 47 sq.

81. Cf. page 17.

82. The extant manuscripts of the *Rom. Treverensis*, as far as is known, are preserved only in the following libraries:

- (1) Bruxelles, Bibl. Royale, 536.
- (2) Copenhagen, Kgl. Bibliothek, GKS. 4^o, 1978.
- (3) Göttingen, Universitätsbibl., Theol. 126.
- (4) Göttingen, Universitätsbibl., Theol. 140.
- (5) London, British Museum, Royal 15. A. VII.
- (6) Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Univ. Mogunt. 27.
- (7) Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 215 num. loc. 11.
- (8) Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 1107.
- (9) Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 1108.

German libraries. This fact would tend to prove that the collection in question was originally written in that country, since the majority of the manuscripts of a given author would naturally remain in the country in which they were copied. Again, we have evidence that the Rom. Treverensis was known in Germany in the thirteenth century, for we still have the translation made there by Gerhard von Minden in 1270 A. D. The Rom. Treverensis in the British Museum, the only manuscript now in England, is both late and very incomplete ⁸³. It is not probable, therefore, that Bozon was acquainted with a work which seems to have been unknown in England during the Middle Ages ⁸⁴.

As for the Rom. Nilantii, a few examples will suffice to show its non-agreement with Bozon:

(1) Bozon 91, *Sun seeking Wife* (Rom. Nilantii, I 8) ⁸⁵. The fable in the Rom. Nilantii resembles the version in the Rom. Vulgaris as differentiated from that in Marie de France and in Bozon.

(2) Bozon 94, *Man and Trees* (Rom. Nilantii II, 16) ⁸⁶. In the Rom. Nilantii the fable ends:

Quercus ad Fraxinum, etc. (as also throughout the whole Rom. Vulgaris tradition). Bozon and Marie de France have nothing like this.

(3) Bozon 131, *Lion und Companions* (Rom. Nilantii I, 6) ⁸⁷: In the Rom. Nilantii the Lion divides the booty into four parts; in Bozon and in Marie de France but three divisions are made.

(4) Bozon makes use of several fables that are not found in the Rom. Nilantii ⁸⁸.

There is no doubt that Bozon, for a part of his fables, is dependent on Marie de France. But how

83. Cf. catalogue of Romances in the Department of manuscripts in the British Museum, Vol. II, p. 286; H. L. D. Ward, London, 1893.

84. For this suggestion I am indebted to Dr. G. C. Keidel, of the Johns Hopkins University.

85. Cf. page 42.

86. Cf. page 45.

87. Cf. page 50.

88. See table of parallel versions, p. 15.

close is this dependence? Is there any evidence that Bozon copied directly from the Marie text? M. Meyer is conservative in this matter and prefers to posit an intermediary text ³⁹, either English or French, between Bozon and Marie. Herlet, on the other hand, believes that there is a closer relation ⁹⁰ than this second remove between the two authors.

On comparing the fables of Bozon with those of Marie de France, I have been frequently impressed with the close resemblance that exists among the words and phrases of the two authors thus compared for certain fables. The following examples will show this resemblance:

(1) Bozon 17, *Owl and Hawk* (Marie 79) ⁹¹: Besides the general motifs which are common to Bozon and to Marie de France, there is a striking resemblance between the two versions in the following phrases:

Compare Bozon:

Tan que le ostur voleit *gere lur viunde*,
revynt et trova *son ny ordement soilli*,

and Marie de France:

Puis lur ala *querria viunde*
Mes quant a els fu repaireiez
Esteit *sis niz orz e suillez*.

Bozon, moreover, for this fable has made use of the moral in Marie.

(2) Bozon 42, *Wolf and Hedgehog* (Marie 71) ⁹²: Bozon and Marie de France begin their fable in the same manner:

Bozon:

Le lou prist un agneile e fui sui
des chiens et des bastons, e prist son
congee del hericeoun d' eschaper au bois;

and Marie:

Un aignel prist li lous un jour,
Li chien li vunt après huant,
E il s' en vet al bois fuiant.

(vv. 9-12.)

89. Cf. *C. M. de Bozon*, p. XXII. For convenience sake I would suggest that this intermediary text posited by M. Meyer be called the *Ysopet d' Angleterre*.

90. Cf. Herlet, op. cit. p. 51.

91. Cf. page 17.

92. Cf. page 29.

Compare again Bozon :

Au beisere le hericeon lui erda al menton,
and Marie :

Li lous baisa le hericun,
E il s' aert a sun mentun.

(vv. 25-26.)

(3) Bozon 50, *Cat as Bishop* (Marie 101) ⁹³.

Bozon :

Le chat sit sur le fourure e vynt
la sorice champestre

Marie de France :

Uns chaz seeit desur un fur,
.
Vit le mulet e la suriz.

(vv. 1-3.)

Here, as in the preceding example (2) it will be noticed that Bozon's agreement with Marie is especially striking in the beginning of the fables.

(4) Bozon 55, *Sheep and Wolf before Lion* (Marie 4) ⁹⁴. Bozon :

Quant le lou ad pris ceo qe lui plest,
lors vynt le gopil tot prest,
e le corf ne veut mye tart,
ne le mastyn de prendre sa part.

Marie de France :

Li chiens i vient, sa part en porte
E li escufles d' altre part
E puis li lous, trop li est tart.

(vv. 28-30.)

Notice that, just as in (2) and (3), we have examples of Bozon showing close agreement with Marie at the beginnings of his fables, so here at the end of the fable it would seem that he was imitating her version.

(5) Bozon 91, *Sun Seeking Wife* (Marie 6) ⁹⁵:

Bozon :

Le autres alerent a Destinee . . .

93. Cf. page 32.

94. Cf. page 34.

95. Cf. page 42.

Marie de France :

Les *creatures* s' asemblerent ;
A la *destinee* en alerent.

(vv. 5-6.)

Bozon, as well as Marie, makes frequent use of the word *destinee* in exactly the same circumstances ⁹⁶.

(6) Bozon 130, *Man and Oxen* (Marie 84) ⁹⁷.

Compare Bozon :

Malment alowez le payn e la cerveyse
qe avez par nostre travailles, quant de
tiel *travail* nous avez encombrée.

and Marie de France :

Li *buef* par *tençun* l' assaillirent,
Si *repruverent* al *vilein*.
La bonne cerweise e le pein,
Que par lur travail ot eü ;
Mes malement lur a rendu :
Qu' a *grant hunte* les *demena*.

(vv. 4-9.)

In this last example, M. Meyer concedes ⁹⁸ that the resemblance between Bozon and Marie is strong enough to warrant the conclusion that he has taken this fable from her collection. But if the facts would seem to justify us in holding that Bozon, for one fable, is directly dependent on Marie, why cannot the same be said for those fables also whose resemblance to Marie is almost as striking as that for the fable just noted ?

If one will take into consideration the character as well as the aim of Bozon's fables, the freedom with which he treats his original material will be better understood. The fable to him was only a means to an end so he often abridged it. In many cases, also he may have relied on his memory, and in this way a confusion with a different version, or with a different fable, could arise ⁹⁹.

96. Cf. fable of *Peacock and Juno*, par. 18.

97. Cf. page 49.

98. Cf. *C. M. de Bozon*, p. XIX.

99. Cf. fable of *Sheep and Wolf* before *Lion*, p. 34.

It is interesting to note that Bozon, if he has drawn directly from Marie de France for his fables, must have had recourse to a no very incomplete manuscript. Of the extant manuscripts of Marie whose dates are anterior to the fifteenth century, there are five only which contain all of those fables in Bozon which have been assigned by me as dependent on Marie; they are ¹⁰⁰:

(1) London, British Museum, Harley 978. 4°, 162 Bl.

(2) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Coll. Douce 132.

(3) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1593, 4°, 218 Bl.

(4) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 2168, 4°, 241, Bl.

(5) Paris, Bibliothèque Arsenal, 3142, Tol., 321, Bl.

Since Bozon wrote his fables in England, it is not likely that he had access to those manuscripts now in France, for we have no record that the French manuscript were ever in England and, as a general rule, manuscripts remain in the country where they were written. The Harley and Oxford manuscripts, then, alone remain of the extant manuscripts of Marie de France from which Bozon could have drawn his fables. According to the scheme of the relations of the Marie manuscripts worked out by Warnke ¹⁰¹, the manuscripts A D belong to Group *a*. Hence, Bozon must have been acquainted with one of the following manuscripts: *a*¹, *a*², A or D; at least, he must have known a manuscript closely related to these manuscripts.

I trust I am not over-confident in holding that my investigation of this subject shows that Bozon is probably indebted to Marie de France for fifteen of his fables. These constitute nearly two-fifths (38 per cent.) of the whole number of fables proper contained in the *Contes*. But if only those fables are taken into account which are most commonly found in the principal fable

100. Cf. Warnke, *Die Fabeln der Marie de France*, pp. 111—XII.

101. Cf. *ibid.*, p. XLIII.

collections ¹⁰², it is possible to reduce the number of fables proper in the *Contes* to thirty-two. According to this reckoning Bozon has drawn nearly one-half of his fables from Marie de France, or, at least, from a collection closely related to hers and which I have already referred to as the *Ysopet d'Angleterre* ¹⁰³. This differentiation of the regular Æsopic fables in Bozon from those which belong to a more general category is just, and it leaves us at liberty to conclude that for the seven or eight fables, not covered by this computation, Bozon must have drawn either on oral tradition or on sundry works that contain merely stray fables.

102. Such as the *Rom. Vulgaris*, Marie de France, Odo of Sherington, etc.

103. Cf. page 66, note 89.

CONCLUSION.

The results that have been obtained by this study of the fables of Bozon are as follows:

(1) Bozon probably had access to a manuscript containing the fables of Marie de France, and it is from her work that he has drawn more fables than from any other single source;

(2) He did not know either the Rom. Nilantii, the the Rom. Treverensis or the Rom. Roberti, all of which collections are closely related to that of Marie;

(3) In his sermons Bozon made use of Odo of Sherington's fables, just as the majority of the preachers of his time drew on these sources;

(4) He seems to have been inspired, in part, though perhaps indirectly, for two fables from the Rom. Vulgaris ¹;

(5) Oral tradition has frequently been drawn upon by Bozon, as it had been by Alfred of England and Odo of Sherington;

(6) A group of fables that would seem to have had their origin in the cloisters, as well as certain fables written in imitation of the chief episodes in the *Rom. de Renart*, must also have been familiar to our author ²;

(7) Broadly speaking Bozon has followed, in general, the Anglo-Latin Romulus tradition, as distinct from the Romulus Vulgaris tradition. His fables bear no resemblance to the Avianus type.

(8) Bozon, it would seem, was acquainted with

1. Fables of Peacock and Destiny (par. 18) and Cock and Jewel (par. 26).

2. Note particularly fables in par. 46, 145.

such works as the *Exempla* of Jacques de Vitry the *Vitae Patrum*, a work closely resembling the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* of Bartholomew the Englishman, or Glanville, and the *Disciplina Clericalis*. From the latter he has drawn, in part, one fable ³.

It is not uncommon for a fabulist to draw his fables from different sources. Hervieux ⁴ in treating the *Rom. Bernensis*, *Primus*, states that it is a Latin derivative, in prose, whose principal source is the Primitive Romulus, but at the same time it presents evident affinities with the Latin derivative of the Romulus of Marie (*Rom. Treverensis*), the fables of Odo of Sherington and the *Rom.* of Munich. According to Herlet ⁵, John of Sheppey was influenced by the *Rom. Vulgaris*, the *Rom. Treverensis*, Odo of Sherington and perhaps, also, by the *Rom. Roberti*. This dependence on different fable collections is not surprising with a writer such as Bozon, who would naturally have been eager to gather fables from whatever source for use in his sermons.

If the agreement between Bozon and the fabulists whom he followed is often only partial and inaccurate, this fact should not lead one to deny altogether his indebtedness to these sources. It is a characteristic of Bozon, as it is with Odo, who he mostly resembles, that he does not follow directly and intentionally his written sources. We have seen ⁶ that one of his chief characteristics as a writer of fables is his custom of changing at will the actors in a given fable. The fable to him was only a means to an end, therefore he often abridged it. Frequently, also, he either draws his material from oral tradition, or wrote it down from memory, whereby changes in the fable would likely occur, and also confusion in motifs would arise.

The English verses attached to some of the fables of Bozon seem to prove that these particular fables go back to an English source, but we have not enough

3. Fable of Fox and Sheep, par. 128.

4. Cf. Hervieux, Vol. I (1st ed.), p. 694.

5. Cf. Herlet, op. cit., p. 82.

6. Cf. page 34, note.

evidence from these examples to show that Bozon knew an English fable collection. We have here rather traces of the English folk tradition.

The French rimes that occur sporadically throughout the fables of Bozon do not force us to posit an intermediary French text between Bozon and Marie de France. They are probably original with our author.

Although there are six fables ⁷ of Bozon whose source I have not been able to discover (nor do I know of any parallel versions of these fables), I hesitate to conclude that he is the author of any of them. Since several of his fables have their origin in oral tradition, it would seem better, for the time being, at least, to attribute these strange fables to oral tradition.

Finally, we must consider Bozon as an honest preacher, who, for the moral instruction as well as for the amusement of his hearers, has collected a number of fables, drawn from various sources, for use in his sermons. It is by reason of the varied sources of his fables, as well as his individuality as a writer, that the fables of Bozon, as a whole, offer certain peculiar characteristics. The work of Bozon, though, properly speaking not a collection of sermons, had no doubt a certain vogue, as is attested by the Latin translation of the *contes* (in part). This work was used as a model by preachers of the order to which Bozon belonged; there are no indications, however, that Bozon's fables have inspired any later writers of fables.

7. Fables in par. 10, 14, 53a, 56, 114 and 135.

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BIOGRAPHY.

I, Philip Warner Harry, was born near Baltimore, August 9, 1877. In the year 1893 I entered the Preparatory Department of Georgetown College, Ky., and in the following year was admitted into Georgetown College, where I remained for two years. In October, 1895, I came to the Johns Hopkins University, from which institution I received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in June, 1898. The following year I pursued graduate work in the University, selecting French as my principal subject, Spanish and History as my first and second subordinate subjects respectively. These studies I pursued without interruption for two years, when I accepted the position of instructor in Modern Languages in the University of Maine. In the Autumn of 1902, I returned to Johns Hopkins University in order to complete my course.

I have derived the greatest benefit from having heard the lectures of Dr. Armstrong on Old French Phonology and Morphology; of Prof. Warren of Yale on Old French literature; of Dr. Ogden on Modern French literature, and of Prof. Marden on Spanish literature. My especial thanks are due to Dr. Keidel who has greatly aided me in my work in Fable Literature; to Prof. Elliott I am indebted for the inspiration, the encouragement and the helpful guidance that I have received in connection with my studies at the Johns Hopkins University.

BALTIMORE, May 1, 1903.

